AN IQBAL PRIMER
AN INTRODUCTION TO IQBAL'S PHILOSOPHY

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Publisher:
Muhammad Suheyl Umar
Director, Iqbal Academy Pakistan
6th Floor, Aiwan-i-Iqbal Complex,
Off Egerton Road, Lahore.
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Web: www.allamaiqbal.com

ISBN	:	969-416-000-0
First Edition	:	1979
2nd Edition	:	2005
Quantity	:	1000
Price	:	Rs. 150
Printed at	:	Print Expert Lahore.

اقبال کا ترانہ بانگ درا ہے گویا
ہوتا ہے جادہ پیما پھر کارواں ہمارا

(Iqbal’s anthem is like a caravan’s bell—
once more upon the road our caravan starts)

This work is dedicated
with love

to the memory of
Syed Feroze Hassan
my father
in grateful remembrance of what I received
from him.

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(In the name of Allah, the Merciful and the Compassionate)

PREFACE

The enormous output of work which has been done on Iqbal in recent years, particularly in Pakistan, is enough to deter any prospective research student. After seeing a bibliography of writings on Iqbal and noticing that every major bookshop in Pakistan has a conspicuous section on "Iqbaliyat", one would be inclined to think that all possible avenues of research have been explored and that all that was worth doing has been done. But, in fact, this is not the case. Much has been done by way of a descriptive analysis of Iqbal's individual poems or some of his best-known concepts and ideas (e.g., the concept of "khudi" or the self, the concept of "*Mard-e-Momin*" or the Ideal Person, the contrast between '*Ishq* and '*Aql* or Love and Reason, and the relationship between the individual and the community). One is impressed by the quantity, the amazing bulk, of the writings produced on Iqbal but if one reviews these writings, one finds that many of them just skim over the surface of the sea and touch a very limited area of Iqbal's art and thought. The depths below where real pearls may be found are seldom probed.

Nor is this the only problem with Iqbal Studies. Not only do most writings relate only to a few subjects or themes, they also contain much repetition and are lacking in critical insight or comprehensive understanding. Undoubtedly, some excellent work has been done by a number of Iqbal scholars

from many countries of the world. The profundity or significance of this work does not, however, negate the fact that the "quality" of many writings on Iqbal leaves much to be desired. This judgment applies equally to the work of Iqbal's admirers and his detractors. When the subjective element has been sifted from the objective comment, one is left with disappointingly little to guide a student who wishes to understand the complex world of Iqbal's thought.

Any researcher who is a new entrant into the field of Iqbal Studies is bound, sooner or later, to ask questions like these: Why do so many people write about Iqbal? Why are so many writings on Iqbal repetitive and devoid of deep critical apprehension? One does not have to look far for answers to these questions. A number of people write about Iqbal not because they are scholars (particularly in the sense in which the modern West understands the term) but as a response to his "message". The urgency, poignancy and intensity of Semitic prophecy which characterizes Iqbal's poetic utterances, exercises an almost irresistible power over many and compels them to rise up and be counted as a witness to the truth which Iqbal represents. Many writings on Iqbal, therefore, belong in the category of personal testament and must be seen and respected as such. These writings may not contribute much by way of critical appreciation but they are of value since they illustrate the remarkable impact and influence which Iqbal had on a variety of people.

The West with its emphasis on rational, scientific analysis and objective methods of criticism is frequently intolerant of writings which seem merely descriptive or tend towards the panegyric. It forgets that in the East people are less interested in "objective knowledge" and linger longer on that which satisfies them emotionally or aesthetically because they believe this is how "wisdom" is attained, that they judge a philosophy not by tests of logical coherence, consistency or validity but by its applicability to their own lives. To evaluate the majority of writings on Iqbal solely by standards of Western scholarship is, therefore, to misjudge the import and

purpose of these writings.

While it is important to recognize that the canons of Western scholarship are frequently irrelevant or inadequate in the case of non-Western writings, it must also be admitted that no “philosopher” can be acknowledged as such until his ideas can be taken out of the realm of emotion or practical experience and made object of scientific reflection. Iqbal’s position as a poet-prophet of a new age or (as Professor A.J. Arberry describes in his Preface to *Persian Psalms)* “*a* new world of thought and feeling, a world vibrant with hope and high endeavor”, is secure, as also is his station as a political figure, the “spiritual” founder of Pakistan. As a philosopher, however, Iqbal’s place has not, in my opinion, been clearly or fully determined. I make this statement knowing that it is often asserted by scholars that Iqbal is the greatest philosopher of modern Islam and that even the illiterate or semi-literate man in Pakistan knows that Iqbal was a “philosopher”. Today no one–layman or scholar–denies that Iqbal was a “philosopher” but this does not mean that there is a real understanding either of Iqbal’s “philosophy” or of the contribution which he made to Islamic or world thought.

As all students of philosophy know, the term “philosophy” has been variously interpreted through the ages. Literally, it signifies love of wisdom and the “philosopher” has been seen, traditionally, as the “wise man”. In this sense, Iqbal is certainly recognized as a “philosopher” and his words are quoted profusely, by experts and laymen alike, as words of wisdom and inspiration. The common man generally understands the term “philosophy” to mean the “system” which a person forms for the conduct of life. It is in this sense that one sometimes hears people speaking of their “philosophy of life”. These people do not mean to imply that they are “philosophers” but simply intend to convey that they have thought seriously about life and its meaning and have adopted a certain stance or viewpoint with regard to it or that they have a certain value-system derived from their understanding of the nature of Reality and Man’s relationship

to it. Many, if not most, thinking persons "philosophize" in this way and the average literate man in Pakistan would have no hesitation in saying that lqbal "philosophizes" a good deal, perhaps more than most other poets. This is why, he would say, lqbal is called a "poet-philosopher".

If being a "philosopher" means being wise, thoughtful or reflective, Iqbal is certainly acknowledged to be one, and indeed one of the best in the world. But the term "philosophy" has a more "academic" meaning also and it is with reference to this meaning that Iqbal's position is unclear in the minds of a number of students of Iqbal. Philosophy as a discipline may be described (traditionally and not in the spirit of much "modern" philosophy with its emphasis on the scientific verifiability of statements or linguistic analysis and the meanings of words) as that department of knowledge or study which deals with Ultimate Reality, or with the most general causes and principles of things. A study of Iqbal's writings reveals how deeply he thought about the nature of fundamental Reality and the principles which govern the physical, metaphysical, moral and other aspects of life. Why, then, should there be any difficulty in recognizing Iqbal's eminence as a "philosopher"? I believe that the answer to this question may be found in a "complaint" frequently made by Pakistani graduate students reading Iqbal's philosophy as a part of their required study for the Master's degree. The "complaint is that there appears to be no "system" in Iqbal's thinking. Some students attribute this lack of system to the fact that Iqbal had not written any "textbook" of philosophy. It is rather surprising that Iqbal's lectures on the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam which, incidentally, are read by few others than students of philosophy, or by Iqbal scholars, are not seen by many as a book of "philosophy". It is undeniable that the lectures are hard to understand. The arguments very often do not follow a logical order and are not laid out systematically. There are frequent repetitions and digressions. Nonetheless, most Iqbal scholars would agree that the *Lectures* are a major

contribution to world philosophy. But even if it is conceded that they do not constitute a "textbook" of philosophy, or disregarded altogether, Iqbal– on the strength of his poetry alone–would still, I believe, qualify for the title of a "philosopher". There are, after all, as many different varieties of philosophers as there are poets. All poets do not write in rhymed verse; all philosophers do not write "textbooks".

But the general idea–that there is no system in Iqbal's thinking–must be considered carefully, for this, according to my judgment, is the chief obstacle in the way of Iqbal's recognition as a philosopher. This idea is linked with the assumption that every philosopher has a philosophical system. Although I do not think that it is beneficial to be categorical or dogmatic about what constitutes, defines or delimits a "philosophical system", I do support the idea that random philosophizing, however brilliant, does not make a philosopher. There must be discernible in the thinking of a philosopher, at least the outlines of a structure formed by his most important ideas and concepts. The question "Is Iqbal a philosopher?" can, then, be resolved into the question, "Does Iqbal have a philosophic system?"

It is difficult to say precisely why so many readers of Iqbal (including students of philosophy) should fail to see any method in his thinking. It is possible to suggest several answers. To my mind the two most important causes or reasons for the widely prevalent opinion that Iqbal has no philosophic system, are (a) his prominence as a poet and as a political figure; and (b) the fundamental opposition between poetry and philosophy.

To a considerable extent Iqbal's prominence as a poet and as a political figure obscures his importance as a philosopher. Compared with a poet, a philosopher's appeal is naturally far more limited. Many more people read Keats than read Kant. Furthermore when one has grown up believing Iqbal to be, first and foremost, a poet–as most Pakistanis, at least of the present generation, have done–it is not always easy to see him as a philosopher. Coleridge, for instance, was

also a metaphysician, but to most people he is simply a poet.

Not only does Iqbal the poet, but also Iqbal the spiritual founder of Pakistan, stands in the light of Iqbal the philosopher. Strictly speaking, Iqbal was never a politician though he participated in politics. As he himself admitted, his interest in politics was only secondary. But this confession which is of fundamental importance from the viewpoint of the students of his philosophy is brushed aside in the enthusiasm of a young nation to make him a political hero. Iqbal was, of course, one of the pioneers of the independence movement which culminated in the creation of Pakistan. In fact, it would hardly be an exaggeration to say that if there had been no Iqbal there might well have been no Pakistan. The influence he wielded was tremendous. His personal reputation–not only as a poet, but also as a man of conviction, courage and incorruptible honesty–had a good deal to do with the rallying of the Muslims under the banner upheld by the Qua'id-e-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah. Nevertheless it is wrong, in my opinion, to give Iqbal, the political leader precedence over Iqbal the philosopher. The political circumstances of his time had, of course, a considerable influence on him. But Iqbal was, essentially, a philosopher and not a politician. A politician's actions and utterances are determined, to a large extent, by motives of political expediency. His "philosophy", in other words, is derived from his politics. But in Iqbal's case, his political views are derived from his philosophy. It seems to me that if this distinction is not clearly made, it is not possible to arrive at a fair estimate of Iqbal as a philosopher (particularly as a political philosopher).

Something also needs to be said about the opposition between poetry and philosophy. A number of people have difficulty in accepting as philosophy what is written in the form of poetry. By its very nature, poetry working through symbols avoids statement and prefers suggestion, whereas philosophy dealing with logical categories, demands preciseness in thought and expression. Therefore, in a sense, a

poet-philosopher is a paradox. But this paradox finds its basis in human nature itself. There is, in human beings, a straining both towards, and away from, definition of thought and feeling. This psychological phenomenon has found different expressions and outlets at different times in the history of literature and philosophy. Sometimes it has led to poetry becoming philosophical, as in the case of the metaphysical poets; sometimes to philosophy becoming poetical, as in the case of Nietzsche; sometimes to a complete bifurcation between poetry and philosophy (the quarrel between the poet and the philosopher being an ancient one); sometimes to a joining of poetry and philosophy, as in the case of mystic-metaphysicians such as ‘Attar and Rumi, and also as in the case of Iqbal.

It is of vital importance to note that Iqbal’s philosophical system is not something “given”. It has to be put together from a number of philosophical ideas which appear in his prose and poetical writings. In one sense, Iqbal’s thought consists not of one but of several systems; since he has dealt with and made contributions to many different branches of philosophy, i.e., epistemology, metaphysics, philosophy of religion, aesthetics, ethics and socio-political philosophy. However, the thread of some central ideas and concepts runs through the various systems and links them into a larger whole.

Mention has been made at the beginning of the Preface of the paucity of critical material in the field of Iqbal Studies. One main reason for this paucity is that the preliminary groundwork has not been done adequately or properly. Many who claim to be “experts” in the field of Iqbal Studies have not read some of Iqbal’s most significant writings, e.g., his Lectures *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, or made a systematic study of his poetical works. To pick up a book of verse and read some lines from here and there or even to read it from cover to cover does not give one a sufficient grasp of Iqbal’s philosophy until one has at least attempted, first to analyze and then to synthesize, the

different strands and aspects of Iqbal's thought.

In my doctoral study entitled *The Main Philosophical Ideas in the Writings of Muhammad Iqbal* (1877-1938), submitted to the University of Durham in England, I endeavored to "construct" the architectonic framework of Iqbal's philosophical system and to show that in some ways this system is remarkably consistent. As a preliminary preparation for this endeavor, I made a detailed study of Iqbal's writings and it is this study which forms the basis of the present work. *An Iqbal Primer* reviews Iqbal's four major works in english ('*Ilm-ul-Iqtisad, The Development of Metaphysics in Persia, Stray Reflections,* and *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*), his eight poetical works in Persian (*Asrar-e-Khudi, Rumuz-e-Bekhudi, Payam-e-Mashriq, Zabur-e-'Ajam, Javid Nama, Musafir, Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq?* and *Armaghan-e-Hijaz)* and his four poetical works in Urdu *(Bang-e-Dara, Bal-e-Jibril, Zarb-e-Kalim* and *Armaghan-e-Hijaz),* and seeks to identify concepts, ideas or themes which are philosophically significant. Some general observations or comments on the scope, nature and importance of individual works are also made.

This work, as its title indicates, is an introductory study intended to familiarize high-school, undergraduate and graduate students studying in Pakistani institutions with the rudiments of Iqbal's philosophy. I believe that an introduction like this would be useful to those students not only in enabling them to gain a better understanding of the prophetic poet who played such a vital part in their country's recent history, but also in equipping them for a deeper and more comprehensive exploration of the work of Islam's most outstanding thinker in modern times. This work is not intended, and indeed it cannot be, a work of exhaustive critical scholarship. The tradition of critical scholarship, cannot in fact, be soundly established–in my opinion–until a sufficient number of primers (like this one) have been produced. If presenting a book as simple and basic as this

seems either retrogression or an irrelevant or unnecessary exercise in the field of Iqbal Studies, one need only cast another look at the greater bulk of what has been written about lqbal so far. There are no shortcuts to scholarship and to think that one can dispense with the preliminaries is to allow oneself arrogance not permissible in the world of scholarly seeking. This modest work hopes to make a contribution towards building a new foundation for the study of Iqbal's philosophy thus filling to some extent, what seems to me to be, an important gap in the field of Iqbal Studies.

In the end, I would like to thank my dear friend Kevin McAdams for suggesting such an appropriate title for this book. I am also grateful to Professor Iqbal Gill and my niece Farzana Hassan for reading the proofs, and to my sister Dr. Parveen Shaukat 'Ali and brothers Syed Jamshed Hassan and Syed Tariq Hassan for overseeing the publication of this book. A word of special thanks is also due to Syed 'Aziz Shah Bokhari, the publisher of this book, for his unbelievable patience, his untiring diligence, and his unfailing courtesy.

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August 1977

IQBAL'S BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Background and Ancestry

Muhammad Iqbal was born on November 9, 1877, at Sialkot, an industrial town lying on the trade-route between Western Punjab and the Provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. Iqbal's ancestors were Brahmans of the 'Sapru' sub-caste. Sometime at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century, either his great-grandfather or his grandfather migrated from Kashmir to Sialkot. Iqbal's forefathers had a predilection for mysticism and both his father, Nur Muhammad and his mother, Imam Bibi, had a reputation for piety.

Education

Iqbal was an outstanding student and won many distinctions throughout his academic career. He started his education in a 'maktab', then went on to study at the Scotch Mission School which later became an Intermediate College. Iqbal passed his F.A. examination in 1895 and moved to the Government College, Lahore. An important influence during his early life was that of his teacher Maulana (later, Shams-ul-'Ulama) Mir Hasan who inculcated in Iqbal a deep sense of dedication to Islamic culture and literature.

Iqbal graduated in 1897 and obtained his M.A. degree in 1899. At the Government College, Iqbal came to know Sir Thomas Arnold, Professor of Philosophy, who had a profound impact on the young student of philosophy as well as on the young poet. On the advice of Sir Thomas Arnold, Iqbal proceeded to England, matriculating in Cambridge

University as Advanced Student of Trinity College, in October, 1905. He graduated in June 1907. While at Cambridge he concentrated on studying philosophy under McTaggart.

Iqbal was admitted to The Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn in October 1905, and he was called to the Bar in the Trinity Term, 1908. He submitted a thesis on *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* at Munich University, in Germany, to Professor F. Hommel in November, 1907, (the residence requirement of two years being waived in his case) for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Career as an Educationist

Between 1899 and 1905, Iqbal taught at the Oriental College and the Government College, Lahore. On his return from Europe in July 1905, he again served as Professor of Philosophy and English Literature at the Government College, and also began his law practice. In 1911, he gave up his teaching career because he felt that he had a message to deliver and could do it better if he adopted an independent profession like Law.

Though Iqbal gave up teaching, he never lost interest in educational programmes and problems. For many years, he was associated with the Oriental College, the Government College, and the Islamia College, in Lahore, and with the Jame'a Millia in Delhi. During the sessions of the Round Table Conferences in London, he worked on the various committees connected with educational reforms. In 1933, Iqbal, along with some others, was invited by the Afghanistan Government to visit the country and advise the Government and the Kabul University on educational matters.

Legal and Political Career

Iqbal started his practice of law in 1908. Although he was a conscientious lawyer, it does not seem evident that be regarded his profession as a vocation. He also took interest in the working of the Muslim League but did not participate actively in politics from 1910-1923. During this period he

was trying to create political consciousness and bring about an awakening of the Muslims. In 1924, he became a member of the National Liberal League of Lahore. In 1926, he was elected a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. In 1930, he was elected President of the All-India Muslim League and delivered an historic address. He took part in the Second and Third Round Table Conferences, held in London, and was most disappointed with the outcome.

Literary Career

Iqbal was a precocious youth and began to write poetry at a very early age. Soon after he came to Lahore, he became known through his participation in poetic symposia. As a young poet, he came under the influence of Mirza Dagh Dehlavi, one of the renowned exponents of Urdu poetry. An organization to which Iqbal was devoted all his life was the Anjuman-e-Himayat-e-Islam (Society for the Support of Islam). The annual sessions of the Anjuman fulfilled an acute emotional need of the Indian Muslims and became national festivals. Iqbal read his poems regularly at these sessions and, in fact, his poems were the main attraction for the thousands who flocked to Lahore, almost on an errand of pilgrimage, to see and hear him. It was at an Anjuman meeting in April 1911 that Iqbal read his famous "Shikwa" (The Complaint)–a poem which commands such a unique place in Urdu literature that Iqbal's fame could rest secure on it alone. A few months later, Iqbal read his "Jawah-e-Shikwa" (The Answer to the Complaint). In 1912, Iqbal's "Shama' aur Sha'ir" (The Candle and the Poet) was published which gives quite a clear idea of the message the Poet was to deliver.

The publication of *Asrar-e-Khudi* (The Secrets of the Self), in 1915, was a momentous event. Iqbal's attacks on Hafiz brought on a storm which took a long time to subside. Iqbal had undertaken to shake millions out of slumber and sloth and it was no easy task to accomplish. However, with the publication of *Asrar-e-Khudi*, Iqbal's commitment to the philosophy of the Ego (with all that its practical application

entailed) was complete. *Rumuz-e-Behhudi* Mysteries of Selflessness), which dealt with the development of the communal ego, was published in 1918. In 1923, appeared *Payam-e-Mashriq* (The Message of the East), Iqbal's answer to Goethe's *West Oestlicher Divan.* In 1924, *Bang-e-Dara* (The Call of the Road) was published. It was the first collection of Iqbal's Urdu poetry and contained most poems such as "Tarana-e-Hindi" (The Indian National Anthem), "Tarana-e-Milli" (The Anthem of the Muslim Community), "Shikwa", "Jawab-e-Shikwa" and 'Shama' aur Sha'ir", which had already become a part of the literary history of Urdu poetry. In addition to these poems, *Bang-e-Dara* also contained "Khizr-e-Rah" (Khizr, the Guide), published in 1921, and "Tulu'-e-Islam" (The Dawn of Islam) published in 1922. These poems are amongst Iqbal's finest Urdu poetry. *Zabur-e-'Ajam* (The Persian Psalms), was published in 1927, and was followed in 1932 by Iqbal's magnum opus, .*Javid Nama* (The Pilgrimage of Eternity) modelled on Dante's *Divine Comedy*. In 1935, *Bal-e-Jibril* (Gabriel's Wing), and in 1936, *Zarb-e-Kalim (The* Stroke of Moses), appeared. In 1934, Iqbal had published a Persian poem *Musafir* (The Traveller), an account of his visit to Afghanistan, and in 1936 appeared another Persian poem, *Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqvam-e-Sharq? (So* What Should Be Done O Nations of the East?). *Armaghan-e-Hijaz* (The Gift of Hijaz) appeared posthumously in 1938 and contained both Persian and Urdu verse.

Besides his poetical works, Iqbal wrote three works in English. '*Ilm-ul-Iqtisad* (The Study of Economics), which was the first book on Political Economy to be published in Urdu, appeared in 1903; Iqbal's Doctoral thesis entitled *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* was published, in 1908, in London; and his Lectures *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* were first published in 1930. Iqbal also wrote numerous articles in Urdu and English in various journals and newspapers. A number of collections containing his articles, letters, speeches and statements have been

published.

Marriages and Children

Iqbal was married three times. His first marriage took place in 1895, when he was barely 18 years old. His first wife: who was from Gujrat bore him a son (Aftab) and a daughter (Maryam, who died in infancy). This marriage was not a success. Iqbal's first wife died in 1947. His second wife was from Lahore and bore him two children (Javid and Munira). She died in 1935. Iqbal's third wife was from Ludhiana. She died in 1924.

Foreign Travels

Iqbal visited Europe thrice–the first time as a student and twice to attend the Round Table Conferences held in London. In 1933, he met Benito Mussolini in Rome and Henri Bergson in Paris. During the same year he also paid visits to Spain, Jerusalem and Afghanistan.

Knighthood

Iqbal was knighted on 1 January, 1923. The ceremony of knighting him was carried by the Viceroy of India, on behalf of King George V, at a later date in 1923.

Illness, Death and Burial

Iqbal's last years were clouded with much ill-health. In 1934, he lost his voice and it is sometimes suggested that he suffered from cancer of the throat. In 1937, he developed cataract in his eyes. Iqbal died in the early hours of April 21, 1938, in the arms of his faithful attendant Mian 'Ali Bakhsh. Given almost a sovereign's farewell, Iqbal was buried near the gate of the Badshahi Mosque, in Lahore, with 10,000 or more people in attendance and millions in mourning.

INTRODUCTION

The versatility of Iqbal's genius is often remarked upon but an attempt is seldom made to bring together, in a single work, the various aspects of his thought so that the reader is able to see the vast range of his ideas. Much has been written about various poems by Iqbal, but apart from the commentaries on the individual works of Iqbal,[1] so far there is hardly any critical literature which deals comprehensively and systematically with any or all of Iqbal's poetical works. Iqbal's prose works have suffered from general neglect, although in recent years his lectures *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* have attracted considerable attention both at home and abroad.

It is not possible to arrive at an adequate understanding of Iqbal's thought, without undertaking in some measure, a critical analysis of his works. This task is rendered somewhat more complicated by the fact that he wrote in three languages–English, Urdu and Persian–on a surprising variety of subjects. Perhaps one of the greatest difficulties facing the student of Iqbal's philosophy is that a great portion of his thought is expressed in the poetic metaphor. The language of philosophy–at least as the term 'philosophy' is understood in the West–should be clear and precise. The language of poetry

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[1] Most of these commentaries are explanatory rather than critical or evaluative.

is often obscure and works by suggestion rather than statement. Nonetheless, although there must always be elements in a poet's works which cannot be brought within the purview of philosophical examination and investigation, in the main Iqbal's philosophy does 'come through' his poetry. When his poetry is studied in conjunction with his prose writings a number of otherwise rather hazy issues become clear.

In this study an attempt has been made to describe the nature and scope of the works of Iqbal. It is outside the scope of the present study to give a detailed critical analysis of Iqbal's writings, but an attempt has been made to indicate the salient philosophical ideas which are found in his various works, and to state wherever possible whether any development (or retrogression) has occurred in some aspect of his thought. In most of the writings on 1qbal there is a tendency to isolate one branch of his thought from the others and to study him as if he were only a metaphysician, or a theologian, or a socio-political philosopher. For purposes of analysis such a method is necessary and useful but sometimes it tends to obscure the fact that Iqbal was a metaphysician and a theologian and a socio-political philosopher. In this study an attempt has been made to give an idea of the comprehensive nature of Iqbal's philosophic vision, and the principal ideas which underlie all the different aspects of his thought.

CHAPTER–I

PROSE WORKS

'*ILM-UL-IQTISAD*

At first sight, it is somewhat surprising to find that Iqbal's first book was on Political Economy. This book was first published in 1903[1] when Iqbal was working as Assistant Professor in Government College, Lahore. It was written probably when Iqbal was working as McLeod Reader in Arabic at Oriental College Lahore. It is the first book in Urdu on Economics[2] and so Iqbal had to coin many new words in that language.

Iqbal's book is naturally outdated today but the very fact that he wrote it as early as 1903 is remarkable.[3] In the Introduction, Iqbal writes, "It seems necessary to make it clear that this book is not a translation of any particular book but is based on important authentic books and in places I have expressed my personal opinion also."[4] Iqbal showed his grasp of the essentials of the subject and his familiarity with contemporary ideas.[5]

Reasons for Writing the Book

An obvious reason why Iqbal wrote this book and why he maintained that the study of Economics was imperative for India was in view "of the appalling poverty in the country, In his words, the nations who do not come to improve their social and economic conditions are bound to be obliterated."[6] One writer concludes[7] from Iqbal's Preface that this book was

inspired mainly by the following considerations:

1. Poverty was an evil which negated the human personality and crippled human beings in many ways.
2. Iqbal's homeland was poverty-ridden and economic prosperity was a necessary condition for the betterment of his countrymen's lot.
3. Iqbal wanted to arouse an economic consciousness in his fellow-countrymen at a time when they were beginning to acquire political consciousness. He wanted to do this because he knew the intimate relationship between economics and politics and how the two were inter-dependent.

Beginnings of Socio-Economic Philosophy

In '*Ilm-ul-Iqtisad* Iqbal points out emphatically the "import-mindedness" of his compatriots, who would not resist exploitation in the economic sphere[8] by trying to achieve economic prosperity and independence for themselves. With bitter humour Iqbal wrote many years later:

انتہا بھی اس کی ہے آخر خریدیں کب تلک
چھتریاں، رومال، مفلر، پیرہن جاپان سے
اپنی غفلت کی یہی حالت اگر قائم رہی
آئیں گے غسال کابل سے، کفن جاپان سے[9]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 327)

In his criticism of his own countrymen we see Iqbal's ability and willingness to face facts no matter how unpleasant they were. He could be ruthless in his analysis. What had happened to the Indians was mostly their own fault and Iqbal knew that it was only by seeing where they had gone wrong and learning from their mistakes that they could hope to better their lot. He showed his insight into economic problems by laying special stress on two important contributing factors—lack of education and the rapid growth of population.[10]

That one earns what one gets, Iqbal regards as a principle

of Economics.[11] He was to build on this idea and state in *Asrar-e-Khudi* that anyone who enjoys what he has not worked for is a 'beggar' and 'beggary' or *su'al* weakens the Ego:

آنکہ خاشاک بتاں از کعبہ رفت
مرد کاسب را حبیب اللہ گفت
وائے بر منت پذیر خوان غیر
گردنش خم گشتۂ احسان غیر
قلزم زنبیل سیل آتش است
گر ز دشت خود رسد شبنم خوش است[12]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, pp. 25–26)

The idle capitalist thriving on the hard labour of the worker whether in the field or the factory was an ugly phenomenon for Iqbal who questioned his right to the wealth created by the worker.

کارخانے کا ہے مالک مردک ناکردہ کار
عیش کا پتلا ہے محنت ہے اسے ناسازگار
حکم حق ہے لیس للانسان الا ما سعیٰ
کھائے کیوں مزدور کی محنت کا پھل سرمایہ دار[13]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 335)

An idea which found frequent expression in Iqbal's mature writings is also to be seen in his first book, namely, the idea that all land belongs to God and not to the indolent, extortionist landlord[14] who would not grant to the cultivator what justly belonged to him. In a poignant protest Iqbal was to ask years later:

پالتا ہے بیج کو مٹی کی تاریکی میں کون؟
کون دریاؤں کی موجوں سے اٹھاتا ہے سحاب؟
کون لایا کھینچ کر پچھم سے باد سازگار؟

خاک یہ کس کی ہے؟ کس کا ہے یہ نور آفتاب؟
کس نے بھر دی موتیوں سے خوشۂ گندم کی جیب؟
موسموں کو کس نے سکھلائی ہے خوئے انقلاب؟
دہ خدایا! یہ زمین تیری نہیں، تیری نہیں!
تیرے آبا کی نہیں، تیری نہیں، میری نہیں![15]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 161)

The land does not belong to the landlord, and it does not belong to the Crown either. It belongs to the people, for "Crowns come and go; the people alone are immortal."[16]

It is possible to say that one of the main reasons for Iqbal's interest in Economics was his love of fair play and his hatred of exploitation in all spheres including agriculture and industry. He condemned "contention and blind individualism, appealing to the protection of the rights of the individuals on the part of society."[17]

Economics interested Iqbal for much the same reasons as politics did–it was a subject inextricably woven into the fabric of daily living. Iqbal was so passionately interested in people that whatever touched their lives could not but touch him too. Economic problems were even more urgent than political problems. Even the 'Aligarh movement motivated as it was by a complex set of impulses, could be said to have been rooted primarily in the economic necessities of the Muslim Middle Class. Like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Iqbal knew too that the Muslims had to come to terms with the present.[18] His poetical ideals did not blind him to the necessity for practical planning and he took full cognizance of actual conditions and needs.

Iqbal's strong commonsense is not often remarked upon, although this streak of practical wisdom is one of the most remarkable things about him. He knew that man could not live by bread alone, but he also knew that neither could men live without bread. A hungry man would have no taste for philosophy of any kind. There was in Iqbal a sense of facts, a

clear-eyed courageous realism which would not let him get carried away by the idealistic flights of his imagination. Actual life could never be ignored. It could only be transcended if one came to grips with it, not if one dismissed it as being unreal or unimportant. This indeed was the burden of his prophecy. We are told[19] that while Iqbal was a student of Philosophy at Cambridge University, whenever he felt himself getting too absorbed in philosophical theorising he attended lectures on Economics, so that he would keep in touch with concrete reality and not lose himself in a world of abstract thinking.

Keeping all this in mind, it is not so surprising after all that Iqbal's first publication should have been a book on Economics. At a first glance Economics and Philosophy and Poetry may seem to be poles apart but they may all be subsumed under the unity of human experience which comprehends everything.

Iqbal's *'Ilm-ul-Iqtisad* was dedicated to Mr. W. Bell, Director, Public Instruction, Punjab, but Iqbal says that it was his teacher Sir Thomas Arnold who encouraged him to write the book.[20] In his Preface, Iqbal also thanked Maulana Shibli who gave him valuable advice regarding the translation of technical terms used in the book. It was gratifying to know that more than fifty years after its original publication a new edition of this book–Iqbal's first attempt at a systematic exposition of his thought–was brought out by the Iqbal Academy. Apart from its historical value as the earliest text-book of Economics in Urdu, it is a help to us in understanding Iqbal's mind and in tracing the development of those socio-economic ideas which were later to become important elements in his philosophy.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF METAPHYSICS IN PERSIA

The Development of Metaphysics in Persia is Iqbal's doctoral thesis submitted to Professor F. Hommel of Munich University, Germany, on November 4, 1907.[21] The material for this dissertation had to be collected from numerous

manuscripts preserved in the great libraries of Europe[22] particularly the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.[23]

Aim and Method

In his introduction to the thesis Iqbal says, "Original thought cannot be expected in a review, the object of which is purely historical; yet I venture to claim some consideration for the following two points:

(a) I have endeavoured to trace the logical continuity of Persian thought, which I have tried to interpret in the language of modern Philosophy. This, as far as I know, has not yet been done.

(b) I have discussed the subject of Sufism in a more scientific manner, and have attempted to bring out the intellectual conditions which necessitated such a phenomenon."[24]

Scope and Nature of the Work

Iqbal's thesis covers the vast range of speculation from Zoroaster and Mani to modern Babism. It is mainly concerned with elucidating the various systems of Persian thought and their relation to each other. One writer, while granting that Iqbal's work is "conscientious," asserts that it is somewhat unsatisfactory because it leaves the reader still wondering whether or not the work is to be taken seriously. "For a research thesis its scope is too wide, and for an original and interpretative study of the subject it seems too sketchy, too descriptive."[25] Here, the enormous difficulty of Iqbal's task when he undertook to give a resume of Persian metaphysics, is to be pointed out. For the most part he had to tread on virgin soil and make his way through a maze of speculative thinking without the help of guides.

Although inevitably sketchy and incomplete, Iqbal's work presents "the first and (so far) the only historical account of Persia's philosophic thought and the credit of its conception goes to Iqbal."[26] Though far from being exhaustive, Iqbal's dissertation described by Professor Browne as an "excellent little book"[27] and by Professor Nicholson as "an illuminating treatise"[28] is "sound in principle, and trustworthy as far as it

goes."[29] The immediate result of Iqbal's labour was considerable and he deserves appreciation for laying a solid foundation for further research.

Some Criticisms of the Work

While speaking of the previous investigators of the origin of Sufism, Iqbal states that they seem to have completely ignored the principle that the total significance and meaning of an intellectual phenomenon can be only grasped in the light of those various conditions–intellectual, political and social–which are responsible for its appearance. Iqbal points out that Von Kremer and Dozy derive Persian Sufism from the Indian Vedanta, Marx and Nicholson derive it from Neo-Platonism, while Professor Browne at one time regarded it as an Aryan reaction to an unemotional Semitic religion. Such theories, says Iqbal, seem to have been worked out under a false notion of causation, namely, that a fixed quantity A is the cause of, or produces, another fixed quantity B. According to Iqbal, such a notion of causation leads to the neglect of the innumerable conditions lying at the back of a phenomenon.[30]

While granting that Sufism, like all great intellectual movements, was ultimately the result of a certain environment, it may be pointed out that by examining these general conditions it is hardly likely that we would learn how it so happened that the mystical tendency assumed a particular form, or how the special doctrines of early Sufism arose. The European Orientalists are therefore justified in investigating the influence of other religions on the development of Sufism. To say that Sufism is derived from Neo-Platonism may mean no more than that the early Sufis actually drew their leading ideas from that source. It does not necessarily imply that had these Sufis been ignorant of Greek philosophy, they might still not have produced a mysticism of the same kind. As an early reviewer of Iqbal's dissertation points out, his treatment of this question is "the one weak spot in his admirable survey. He is rather deficient on the

historical side, and is apt to forget that a theory will carry greater conviction if it comes to close quarters with all the relevant facts."[31]

Iqbal's treatment of Al-Farabi, Ibn Miskawaih and Ibn Sina is not regarded as original by a historian of Muslim Philosophy who states that Iqbal has echoed the views of early Western Orientalists and denied these great thinkers the credit for originality and deviation from Neo-Platonism.[32]

Iqbal has attributed the rise of Babism to the School of Mulla Sadra, but, as pointed out by a writer, this is a historical mis-statement since in fact the Bab was a student of the school of Shaikh Ahmad Ahsa'i who wrote a commentary against one of Mulla Sadra's works.[33]

Philosophical Trend in the Work

Iqbal's dissertation is his first philosophical attempt and bears marks of immaturity.[34] It was written at a time when Iqbal was greatly attracted by pantheistic ideas. In this work, he paid more attention to pantheistic Sufism than to any other philosophical school. He spoke enthusiastically of Ibn 'Arabi who led the pantheistic monistic current in Islamic mysticism[35] and quoted Hegel's appraisal of the pantheism of Rumi. Iqbal was to choose Rumi as his spiritual mentor once his 'pantheistic phase' was over, although he allowed him practically no place in his thesis. Iqbal regarded Rumi as a "full-fledged pantheist" until he acquired "a deeper understanding of a personalistic trend in the Maulana's mysticism."[36]

In his later life Iqbal realised that he had outgrown many of the ideas expressed by him in his dissertation. In 1927, he wrote about the work, "This book was written eighteen years ago. Since that time new discoveries have been made and also my ideas suffered a great revolution. Many books have since been written in German on Ghazzali, Tusi, etc., that were not in existence at the time when I wrote. In my opinion, only a little portion of this book remains now that can escape criticism."[37]

Significance of the Work and Iqbal's Contribution

Although the dissertation was partly rejected by Iqbal, it will retain its importance in Oriental studies until it is superseded by a more comprehensive work. One writer comparing Iqbal's thesis with his more mature Lectures *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* gives high praise to the earlier work although it "abounds in hasty comparisons between philosophers historically unconnected" since these comparisons are sometimes "highly interesting and illuminating."[38] He goes on to say: "In a sense it cannot be denied that, from a purely objective and scientific point of view *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* seems superior to *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.* In it Iqbal drew his materials from original, and in many instances, manuscript sources, and gave important notices of philosophers almost unknown in European circles of that time or put some into a new light, through his somewhat bold, but always fascinating, reinterpretations."[39]

Among the most interesting sections of the work are those which describe the "Hikmat al-Ishraq" or "Philosophy of lllumination" expounded by Shihab-al-Din al-Suhrawardi, and the detailed analysis of the "Insan al-Kamil" or "Perfect Man" of 'Abdul Karim al-Jili. Iqbal was perhaps the first to draw attention to the works of Suhrawardi who was put to death as a heretic by Saladin's son Malik al-Zahir. Jili's views seem to have influenced Iqbal's own concept of Man's spiritual development.[40] Iqbal also drew attention to Persian theologians like Mulla Sadra and Hadi Sabzawari who were nearly unknown in Europe.[41]

Apart from its value as a guide to the student of Persian metaphysics, Iqbal's work tells us a good deal about its author. It leaves no doubt about the author's scholarship which extends from theology to philosophy, and his familiarity with European methods of criticism.[42] The dissertation is a starting-point of Iqbal's own philosophy, for, as Professor Schimmel observes, "there can be no doubt that the mystics who are discussed in the *Metaphysics,* and their

religious and philosophical condition have helped him to form his philosophy either in congruence with them, or out of a complete antithesis."[43]

The thesis was first published in the form of a book by Luzac and Co., London, in 1908. A writer observes, "no better compliment could have been paid to the work than the fact that an English firm was willing to publish a book, written by a young student, who at that time was hardly known to the literary world."[44] It was reprinted by Bazm-e-Iqbal, Lahore, in 1954, and has now seen a third print (in 1964) which carries a foreword by Professor M. M. Sharif. The book is dedicated to Professor T. W. Arnold with these words, "This little book is the first fruit of that literary and philosophical training which I have been receiving from you for the last ten years, and as an expression of gratitude, I beg to dedicate it to your name."

STRAY REFLECTIONS

This book is a notebook of Iqbal edited by his son Dr. Javid Iqbal. As remarked by the Editor, "It contains odd jottings based on his (Iqbal's) impressions of the books he was reading at that time, his thoughts and feelings about the environment in which he lived and reminiscences of his student days."[45] Iqbal started writing it on April 27, 1910; continued writing it for several months and then stopped due to some reasons not known to us.[46]

Stray Reflections contains 125 separate pieces of reflection. These reflections include comments on great literary men and thinkers, on schools of philosophy, on various religious traditions and on political institutions. The note-book throws considerable light not only on the development of Iqbal's genius, but also on the many-sidedness of his interests. It demonstrates the liveliness and richness of his mind and tells us that even as a young man Iqbal was familiar with the ideas of outstanding literary and intellectual figures such as Plato, Aristotle, Spinoza, Hegel, Goethe, Nietzsche, Kant, Wordsworth, Milton and Oscar Wilde.

Philosophical Jottings

The note-book contains the germs of many ideas which are also to be found, in a more developed form, in Iqbal's later works.[47] We learn, for instance, that in 1910, Iqbal "thought of history as a process and believed that the spiritual and philosophical ideas of a community were largely the expression of its political environment."[48]

Iqbal also believed that a nation's character could only find healthy development within a sound political set up.[49] "To my mind," he writes, "government, whatever its form, is one of the determining forces of a people's character. Ever since their political fall the Musalmans of India have undergone ethical deterioration."[50] Here we can see the beginning of an idea in Iqbal's mind which was ultimately to lead to his conviction that the Muslims of India could only find their destiny in "a Muslim India within India."[51]

Writing of Personality, Iqbal says, "Personality being the dearest possession of Man must be looked upon as the ultimate good. It must work as a standard to test the worth of our actions. That is good which has a tendency to give us the sense of personality, that is bad which has a tendency to suppress and ultimately dissolve personality."[52] This idea found almost identical expression in Iqba1's oft-quoted letter to R. A. Nicholson, "the idea of personality gives us a standard of values: it settles the problem of good and evil. That which fortifies personality is good, that which weakens it is bad."[53]

In his note-book, Iqbal acknowledges his debt to Hegel, Goethe, Mirza Ghalib, Mirza 'Abdul Qadir Bedil and Wordsworth. "The first two led me into the 'inside' of things; the third and fourth taught me how to remain oriental in spirit and expression after having assimilated foreign ideals of poetry, and the last saved me from atheism in my student days."[54] Such reflections could be of great value to a biographer of Iqbal since there is very little material–particularly from Iqbal's own pen–which throws light on the various stages on Iqbal's introspective life. It would be interesting to make a study of Iqbal, as he was in 1910, based

on his *Stray Reflections*. Some of his reflections are indeed surprising as well as revealing. For instance, it is hard to imagine that a person with Iqbal's religious fervour could ever have been inclined towards atheism but his remark on Wordsworth tells us that when he was a student, atheism did appeal to him in some way. We also have, in Iqbal's note-book, reflections such as "Love is a playful child. She makes our individuality and then quietly whispers in our ear–Renounce it,"[55] (which is reminiscent of the gentle Tagore) and "Sin has an educative value of its own. Virtuous people are very often stupid"[56]–an idea of considerable importance in Iqbal's religious philosophy.

The style of the note-book is simple, spontaneous and vigorous. As the various jottings were written at different times and not according to any predetermined scheme, there is no apparent continuity between them.[57] Nevertheless they bear the impress of Iqbal's eager and sensitive response to things and people and ideas which interested him. Many reflections are stimulating and absorbing also since "Iqbal is one of those thinkers who constantly surprise us with the unexpectedness and provocativeness of his thought."[58] Containing as it does thoughts on art, philosophy, literature, science, politics, religion, culture and so on, it is a valuable document of Iqbal's mind in its formative phase reflecting the spaciousness of his intellect and the variety of his interests. One of the most refreshing things about *Stray Reflections* is the humour which is present as an undertone in many observations[59] and which was unfortunately to become harder and harder to come by in Iqbal's works as the import of his message grew more grave and urgent.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ISLAM

In 1928, Iqbal was asked to deliver a series of lectures at Madras, Hyderabad, Mysore and Aligarh. Later on, he made some additions to these lectures and the collection was first

published in 1930 under the title of *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.* At one time Iqbal had wanted to call the collection “Islam as I Understand it.”[60] In its final shape the volume contains seven lectures, namely:

(1) Knowledge and Religious Experience.
(2) The Philosophical Test of the Revelations of Religious Experience.
(3) The Conception of God and the Meaning of Prayer.
(4) The Human Ego–His Freedom and Immortality.
(5) The Spirit of Muslim Culture.
(6) The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam.
(7) Is Religion Possible?

In the Preface, Iqbal tells us that he has attempted to formulate a new Muslim metaphysics “with due regard to the philosophical tradition of Islam and the more recent developments in the various domains of human knowledge.”[61]

Lecture One

In the first lecture Iqbal discusses the sources of knowledge. The Qur’an has placed great emphasis on the observable aspects of Reality. In Iqbal’s opinion the empirical attitude of the Qur’an is what made the early Muslims the founders of modern science. Since “Reality lives in its own appearances” so Man must take account of the visible.[62] Iqbal considers the Qur’an to be anti-classical in spirit[63] and regards “all the passive, fatalistic, obscurantist and other–worldly elements in Islam to be “an excrescence due to the influence of classical Greek thought.”[64]

There are two ways of establishing connections with the reality that confronts us. The indirect way is by means of observation and sense-perception, the other way is through direct association with that reality as it reveals itself within. In order to have a complete view of reality, sense-perception must be supplemented by the perception of *qalb* meaning “heart”.[65] Iqbal affirms “that Islam, in its purest expression, has never accepted the duality between rational and positive

knowledge and faith."[66] Science, philosophy and religion may be different in function but their objective is the same, namely, knowledge of Reality.

Religious experience is intuitive and immediate but there is no reason to suppose that thought and intuition are essentially opposed to each other. They seek visions of the same Reality, and in fact, intuition, as Bergson held, is only a higher kind of intellect.[67] In Iqbal's opinion, Kant and Ghazzali had been wrong in saying that intellect could only yield knowledge of phenomena. In the act of knowledge, thought passed beyond its finitude.[68] The idea that thought is finite is based on the idea that thought is static, whereas in its essential nature, thought is dynamic and possesses an internal infinitude.[69]

Although in his poetry Iqbal has written much about the decadence of the modern representatives of Sufism, yet he did not deny the reality or significance of the mystic experience. In his first lecture he enumerates its main characteristics: (a) it is immediate; (b) it possesses an unanalysable wholeness; (c) it is objective; (d) it is incommunicable; (e) it does not mean a complete break with serial time.

As religious experience "is essentially a state of feeling with a cognitive aspect, the content of which cannot be communicated to others, except in the form of a judgment,"[70] the question arises as to the validity of the experience. The judgment in which it is embodied may be subjected to (a) the intellectual test, which means a critical examination; and (b) the pragmatic test which judges by the results. The former test is supplied by the philosopher, the latter by the prophet.[71]

Lecture Two

In the second lecture, Iqbal is seeking to establish a philosophical proof for affirming the spiritual character of Reality, and thus proving God's existence.[72] He rejects the cosmological argument, the ontological argument (also Descartes' supplementary argument of innate ideas) and the teleological argument. Iqbal, however, accepts "an immanent

teleological ground" and in support of this he rejects the static view of matter and accepts Whitehead's formulation of it as a "structure of events" in ceaseless dynamic flow.[73]

Iqbal, beginning with an examination of the nature of religious experience, proceeds to investigate "its philosophical content and finds it in the concept of pure duration"[74] which is untouched by serial time. The logical mind creates serial time in order to deal with the world of space. "Pure duration" is transferred from the individual self to the universe which is not "the temporal working out of a pre-conceived plan" but a "free creative movement."[75] The traditional concept of destiny was based on a materialist teleology which did not take note of "the progressive formation of fresh ends, purposes and ideal scales of value as the process of life grows and expands."[76] For Iqbal, Reality is a free, creative vital impulse as revealed in pure duration.[77]

Lecture Three

In the third lecture, Iqbal elucidates the Qur'anic conception of God which has the following elements when seen from an intellectual point of view: (1) Creativeness; (2) Knowledge; (3) Omnipotence; (4) Eternity. Iqbal takes these elements one by one and "expounds the Stoic theory of the Muslim scholastics in the light of modern physics."[78]

Iqbal has maintained throughout his lectures that the Qur'an teaches the doctrine of the creative freedom of the human ego. He develops the story of the Fall of Man as being symbolic of "man's rise from a primitive state of instinctive appetite to the conscious possession of a free self, capable of doubt and disobedience."[79] Iqbal writes, "that God has taken this risk shows His immense faith in Man ; it is for Man to justify this faith…the acceptance of selfhood involves the acceptance of all the imperfections that flow from the finitude of selfhood."[80]

Iqbal conceives of Reality as an Ego and from the Ultimate Ego only egos proceed. Like Leibniz, Iqbal believes in degrees of consciousness, but "every atom of Divine

energy however low in the scale of existence, is an ego."[81]

Iqbal's conception of prayer is very interesting. He says, "Religion is not satisfied with mere conception, it seeks a more intimate knowledge of, and association with, the object of its pursuit. The agency through which this association is achieved is the act of worship ending in spiritual illumination."[82] Prayer is the contact of the human soul with the living Deity. The real object of prayer is achieved, however, "when the act of prayer becomes congregational. The spirit of all true prayer is social."[83]

Lecture Four

The main subject of Iqbal's fourth lecture is the individuality and freedom of the human ego. Referring to the individuality and uniqueness of Man, Iqbal states that the Qur'an clearly indicates:

(a) that Man is the chosen of God,[84]

(b) that with all his shortcomings, Man is the representative of God on earth;[85]

(c) that Man bears the trust of personality which he undertook at his own risk.[86] For Iqbal the real personality of the ego is not a thing but an act, and its reality lies in its directive attitude.[87]

Iqbal defines the body as the "accumulated habit of the soul," and matter as "a colony of egos of a low order out of which emerges the ego of a higher order, when their association and interaction reach a certain degree of co-ordination."[88] He denies that there is "such a thing as a purely physical level in the sense of possessing a materiality, elementally incapable of evolving the creative synthesis we call life and mind, and needing a transcendental Deity to impregnate it with the sentient and the mental. The Ultimate Ego that makes the emergent emerge is immanent in nature."[89]

Iqbal points out the characteristics of the human ego:[90]

(1) It is unique and reveals itself as a unity of what we call mental states.

(2) It is not space-bound in the sense in which the body is space-bound.

(3) True time–duration belongs to it alone, the time–span of the ego being fundamentally different from the time-span of the physical event.

(4) It possesses that privacy which reveals its uniqueness. The mental state of one individual cannot be experienced by another.

(5) It is spontaneous while the acts composing the body repeat themselves.

Iqbal stresses the fact that Islam recognises "the rise and fall of the power to act freely, and is anxious to retain the power to act freely as a constant and undiminished factor in the life of the Ego."[91]

Finally in the fourth lecture, Iqbal discusses the question of immortality. The Qur'anic doctrine of immortality "is partly ethical, partly biological."[92] It is open to Man, according to the Qur'an, to become immortal but it is only as an ever-growing ego that he can gain immortality.[93] Iqbal does not believe that immortality is ours as by right. It has to be achieved by personal effort.[94] If the ego is sufficiently fortified then death is only a kind of passage to what the Qur'an describes as *Barzakh* or "an intermediate state of existence."[95]

Hell and Heaven are states and not localities. "Heaven is the joy of triumph over the forces of disintegration," and Hell is "the painful realization of one's failure as a Man" not a place of eternal damnation but "a corrective experience" which may make the hardened ego seek for grace.[96]

Lecture Five

In the fifth lecture, Iqbal distinguishes between the "prophetic" and the "mystic" types of consciousness. The mystic does not wish to return having had the "unitary experience."[97] He usually speaks in paradoxes that can give only a shadowlike reflection of the Absolute. On the other hand, the prophetic type not "only will but must speak of the

overwhelming experience of God's presence."[98] A prophet after having been in communion with God, must return to mankind. His return is creative.[99]

Iqbal asserts that in Islam prophecy reaches its perfection because it reaches the need for its own abolition.[100] He holds that Islam liberated the human mind not only from a static conception of the universe, but also from "the Magian and Messianic complex."[101] The finality of prophethood means freedom from the burden of prophecy. Henceforth Man is to evolve his own new ideas by perfecting his ego and to mould his destiny through his own exertions.[102]

According to Iqbal, all lines of Islamic thought converge on a dynamic conception of the universe, a view "which is further re-inforced by Ibn-e-Miskawaih's theory of life as an evolutionary movement, and Ibn-e-Khaldun's view of history."[103]

Lecture Six

In his sixth lecture, Iqbal deals with the problems of law and society. He points out that Islam "as an emotional system of unification… recognizes the worth of the individual as such, and rejects blood-relationship as a basis of human unity."[104] In the oneness of God or *Tauhid*, Islam finds the foundation of world-unity. Iqbal maintains that the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam, is eternal and manifests itself in variety and change, thus reconciling the categories of permanence and change.

The principle of movement in the structure of Islam is known as *Ijtihad* which literally means "to exert."[105] In Islamic law "it means to exert with a view to form an independent judgment on a legal question."[106] Iqbal surveys the working out of this principle in both past and contemporary thinking. In Iqbal's opinion, neglect of *Ijtihad* was one of the chief causes leading to the decline of the Muslim people for "in an over-organised society the individual is altogether crushed out of existence...a false reverence for past history and its artificial resurrection

constitutes no remedy for a people's decay,"[107] What was needed was a revival of the spirit of independent thinking so that "self-concentrated individuals" could come into being to "disclose new standards in the light of which we begin to see that our environment is not wholly inviolable and requires revision."[108]

Iqbal appreciates the fact that *ljtihad* "reinforced and broadened by modern philosophical ideas, had long been working in the religious and political thought of the Turkish Nation."[109] In his opinion, if Islamic renaissance is to come about, then "we too one day, like the Turks, will have to re-evaluate our intellectual inheritance."[110]

Iqbal mentions as sources of Islamic law: (1) The *Qur'an* which, however, is not a legal code. "Its main purpose...is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his relation with God and the universe."[111] (2) The *Hadis* or the traditions of the Prophet which can "also help us to understand the life-value of the principles enunciated in the Qur'an."[112] (3) The *Ijma*', which Iqbal regards as "perhaps the most important legal notion in Islam."[113] He observes, "The transfer of the power of *Ijtihad* from individual representatives of schools to a Muslim legislative assembly which, in view of the growth of opposing sects, is the only possible form *ljma* can take in modern times, will secure contributions to legal discussion from laymen who happen to possess a keen insight into affairs[114] (4) The *Qiyas* which is "the use of analogical reasoning in legislation."[115] Iqbal says that as Shafa'i rightly points out, *Qiyas* is the same as *Ijtihad*.[116]

It has been observed that Iqbal was 'freest and most forceful in his attack against the stagnation in Muslim social development through the fetters of *Hadis* and *Sunnah*."[117] He condemned statism in law and "postulated unhesitatingly the right of every new generation to formulate their laws according to their needs."[118] Iqbal writes, 'The claim of the present generation of Muslim liberals to re-interpret the foundational legal principles, in the light of their own experience, and the altered conditions of modern life, is in my

opinion, perfectly justified."[119] This touched one of the most urgent problems in Islamic development, affecting not just theories, but real, practical issues. Iqbal's bold and powerful stand for the "re-opening of the door of *Ijtihad*" had, and will continue to have, great practical impact.[120]

Iqbal may have made his greatest contribution to the renaissance of Islam by maintaining that modern Islam was not bound by a voluntary surrender of intellectual independence.[121] Iqbal seeks justification of his stand in the Qur'an and says "The teaching of the Qur'an that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided, but unhampered, by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems."[122]

Iqbal wants reforms but not a revolution. "He wants change, in other words, within the framework of existing social order, change without tears"[123] Iqbal contends that the outlook of the Qur'an is dynamic and cannot be hostile to the idea of evolution, but life consists not only of change but also of conservation. Defending Iqbal's attitude, a writer observes, "In advocating a cautious and sober attitude towards social change Iqbal can be charged with being out of tune with a thorough-going dynamism evolved in his earlier chapters...But I think this charge can be met by saying that although a social organism must continuously experience microscopic change, by its very nature, it exhibits microscopic changes in accordance with the laws of its constitution as an organism; otherwise it will disintegrate. The case would be analogous, although not exactly parallel, to changes in an aggregate of atoms we call a thing."[124]

One wonders how the problems of the modern world are to be solved. Iqbal returns to his Kingdom of God on earth. He states, "Humanity needs three things today–a spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual, and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis."[125] Islam, "rid of its excrescences and impurities, can provide these three things."[126]

Lecture Seven

In the last lecture, Iqbal seeks to establish the validity of religious experience. He states that religious life may be divided into three periods which may be described as the periods of "Faith," "Thought" and "Discovery."[127] In the first period, the individual must accept religious discipline without any rational understanding of the ultimate meaning and purpose of that command."[128] This period is not of much importance to the individual but is of great consequence in the social and political history of nations. The second period is characterised by a "rational understanding of the discipline and the ultimate source of its authority."[129] In the third period, "religion becomes a matter of personal assimilation of life and power, and the individual achieves a free personality, not by releasing himself from the fetters of the law, but by discovering the ultimate source of the law within himself."[130]

Religion, according to Iqbal, is "a mode of actual living." There is more than one kind of experience and more than one type of consciousness. For him, the question of the possibility of religion as a form of higher experience is a perfectly legitimate one and deserves to be considered seriously.[131] Iqbal states quite simply the argument for the need for religion–an argument which has been repeated by spiritual teachers through the ages. "Religion, which in its higher manifestations is neither dogma, nor priesthood, nor ritual, can alone ethically prepare the modern Man for the burden of the great responsibility which the advancement of modern science necessarily involves, and restore to him that attitude of faith which makes him capable of winning a personality here and retaining it hereafter. It is only by rising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither, that Man will eventually triumph over a society motivated by an inhuman competition, and a civilization which has lost its spiritual unity by its inner conflict of religious and political values."[132]

Commenting on Iqbal's last lecture, a writer observes that in it Iqbal introduced "Higher Sufism" as "an escape from

drawing the consequences of his own critical and daring reflections, and thereby weakened the impact of the six preceding, remarkably advanced and liberal discoveries."[133] Just as in an earlier lecture Iqbal had pointed out the limitations of Philosophy, so in his last lecture, he reiterated the ancient argument that scientific knowledge is incomplete and only religious experience that leads to religious certainty could encompass reality as a whole. Thus, in this writer's opinion, Iqbal reinvested religion and faith with the power to judge all thought.[134] This, of course, brings us to the fundamental question as to the nature and aim of Iqbal's "re-construction" of religious thought in Islam.

The Nature and Aim of the Lectures
Some Critical Comments

First of all it is to be considered in what sense Iqbal's Lectures are a "reconstruction" of Islamic thought. Pointing out Iqbal's fundamental opposition to the Sufi tradition, one writer states that Iqbal's "reconstructions" are a new view and a novel interpretation of Qur'anic doctrines and are based on three main principles:[135]

1. There are three fundamentally different kinds of things we can study, inanimate matter, living organism and minds. The attempts that have been made to study these three kinds of things (these three areas of experience) have given rise to three groups of sciences, the physical, the biological and the psychological. It is important to understand that Iqbal regarded psychology as one science among a group of mind-studies, others being, for example, theology and the striving for mystical experience. The total picture of the world that we derive from all three groups of sciences is what Iqbal calls religion.
2. It is proper for an individual to be active. Blind obedience to that fate which is taken to be the will of God cannot offer any theoretical grounds for immortality, nor is the belief in predestination which

is supposed to justify the acceptance of *qismat* supported by experience in any of the three realms.

3. All three of the kinds of things we can study are changing from what they were into something else. The world, the animate creation and God are each changing. Mohammad (p.b.u.h) was the last prophet not because he gave a final description of the three realms of experience, but because he recommended a method of enquiry that enables a day-to-day record of the change to be kept."[136]

Iqbal does not recommend "piecemeal revisions of the traditional conceptual scheme" in Islamic thought. His "reconstructions" are "compounded partly of elements from the earlier centuries of Islamic culture, and partly of elements derived from an evolutionary view of the world owing much to Bergson and Whitehead."[137]

The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam does seek "to place the development of Islamic thought in a new, more intelligible perspective."[138] Its main aim in the broadest sense, however, is to reconcile the claims of religion and philosophy or religion and science. In Islam the conflict between scientific knowledge and religion is accentuated by the "permeation of its social life by a system of religious law… Islam, not only has to consider what bearing scientific knowledge has on religious experience, but also how on the merely practical plane necessary reforms can be carried out in the face of the claims of the *Shari'at*."[139]

For Iqbal, Revelation, the Prophet and the Qur'an remained the fountain and the arbiter of truth, yet he was able to subject other facets and aspects of Islam to a critical investigation and reducing their claim to inviolability and infallibility, to demand new modes of approach.[140] In Iqbal's words, "The task before the modern Muslim is immense. He has to rethink the whole system of Islam… without completely breaking with the past… The only course open to us is to approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and to appreciate the teachings of Islam

in the light of that knowledge even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone before us."[141]

It has been observed that to a certain degree Iqbal kept this promise which meant unbiased investigation since he subjected the most vexing philosophical problems of Islam to a searching scrutiny in the light of modern physics, psychology and philosophy. He discussed the problem of free will with the help of arguments from modern physics, and the question of eternity from the point of view of the Relativity theory.[142] Strictly speaking, Iqbal is the only philosopher of modern Islam and his Lectures are the one (and so far the only) serious and thorough-going attempt "to restate the theology of Islam in modern immanentist terms."[143]

According to one writer the underlying theme of *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* is the need to bring the ideals of Islam "into line with the practical contingencies of the age and the world in which Iqbal lived. The rediscovery of the past of Islam itself is necessary only with a view to providing it with a rationale in terms of the present."[144] In other words, this book is a restatement of the 'Aligarh Movement, which provides the insistent and inescapable motive of the whole work.[145] Iqbal's philosophy was no doubt influenced by the socio-political contingencies of the day but to say that it was wholly and solely determined by them is surely to do less than justice to his Lectures which contain the philosophical essence of his work and are the result of a life-time of thought.

Iqbal's Lectures have been described as "the best known of the modern ethical interpretations of Islam by Indian writers."[146] They are of value to the Muslims because they combine a psychological elucidation of fundamental Islamic tenets with a fresh interpretation of the Qur'an and because of the author's great faith in the revelations on which Islam is based.[147] One writer observes that Iqbal worked hard to translate the precepts of the Qur'an into the language of modern philosophers in order to prove that Islam was their religion.[148] Iqbal's book which is a work of "very serious

intent, eminently readable, instructive and provocative”,[149] deserves to be studied closely by all who are interested in Islam or modern Philosophy or both.[150] Whether or not we accept the philosophy or theology given in the Lectures, we must admit that they succeed in “recreating for us the essential aspects of Islamic thought and culture as an historic phase of Islamic thought.”[151]

Objecting to Iqbal’s style, a writer says, “he (Iqbal) frequently uses phrases in which it is hard to discover any definable core of conceptual content. Secondly, in the whole book and especially in its first four Chapters which are purely philosophical, there is no well-knit and reasoned-out argument. It is rather an ingenious statement indicative of a certain philosophical attitude and for that purpose coherent enough but when subjected to an analytical examination, full of irresponsible contradictions and logical anomalies.”[152] This criticism is true as far as it goes, but then, it may be pointed out, that Iqbal “aimed quite self-consciously to inculcate an attitude and not to argue a case. With this attitude to metaphysics, we would, in our post-Wittgenstein world, agree.”[153]

Amongst modern Islamic writings, most of them apologetic, Iqbal’s Lectures are “like a breath of fresh air.”[154] The task which Iqbal undertook in his Lectures–to reinterpret the history of Islamic thought in the light of modern knowledge–was formidable and the importance of his achievement cannot be exaggerated. There is no doubt that in trying to vindicate the claims of the Qur’an as the source and basis of a coherent, comprehensive and dynamic view of life, and in evaluating the cultural and philosophical heritage of Islam, Iqbal’s attempt represents a pioneer work.[155] He has been accused at times of using philosophy to justify religion, but to this objection he could have retorted that he was arguing against a revealed religion being treated “as the mere echo of metaphysical speculation.”[156]

There are few pages in the Lectures which do not stimulate and move the reader. The Lectures are the product of “an

exalted, poetic and subtle mind," which sharpen understanding of the reality of religious experience and give a renewed sense of the spirituality of life.[157] The book is full of profound insights and it has earned Iqbal the homage of another great modern philosopher: "In these dark times we have to rediscover the vital truths, those great patterns of thought and behavior, those great moral and spiritual values, the oneness of God and the brotherhood of man, which are associated with Islam. Unfortunately, in the course of centuries those certain truths have been obscured, and rites and rituals, creeds and dogmas have covered up the simplicity of the message of Islam. It is the duty of thinkers in each generation to recapture the original purity and dynamic vigour of the ancient message and re-express it in the idioms of their age. This task of reinterpretation Iqbal undertook in his book *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.*"[158]

An edition of the *Lectures* was published by the Oxford University Press in 1934. In 1935, Iqbal was offered the Rhodes Lectureship and asked to deliver three or more of his lectures at Oxford University,[159] but due to several reasons (the chief one being his failing health), Iqbal could not avail himself of the opportunity. One of his British friends remarks, "Iqbal sent me a collection of his lectures on the subject (of Muslim Philosophy) and I then more regretted that Oxford could not have the opportunity of doing honor to this eminent Indian thinker and poet."[160]

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[2] *Ibid*.
[3] *Ibid*., p. 2.
[4] ‘*Ilm-ul-Iqtisad*, p. 25.
[5] Qureshi, A. L., Introduction to ‘*Ilm-ul-Iqtisad*, p. 12.
[6] Iqbal, J., Introduction to *Stray Reflections,* p. XXVII.
[7] ‘Usman, M., “Some Economic Problems in Iqbal,” *Iqbal,* Karachi, April 1957, Volume V, No. 4, p. 50.
[8] *Ibid.,* p. 25.
[9] To what extremes will we go and till when shall we purchase umbrellas, handkerchiefs, scarves and all our clothing from Japan?
If the state of our neglect continues in this way, from Kabul will come corpse-bathers and shrouds from Japan.
[10] Hasan M, Foreword to *‘Ilm-ul-Iqtisad,* pp. 3-5.
[11] ‘Usman, M., “Some Economic Problems in Iqbal,” *op. cit*. p. 53.
[12] He who swept the rubbish of idols out of the Ka‘ba
Said that God loves a man that earns his living.
Woe to him that accepts bounty from another’s table
And let his neck be bent with benefits.
A whole ocean, if gained by begging, is but a sea of fire;
Sweet is a little dew gathered by one’s own hand.
(Translation by Nicholson, R. A., *The Secrets of the Self,* Lahore, 1964, pp. 40-42.)
[13] The owner of the workshop is a man who does no work–a profligate, to whom labour is disagreeable.
“Nothing for Man save that for which he strives” is God’s decree,
Why should the capitalist then eat the fruit of the labourer’s work?
[14] ‘Usman M., “Some Economic Problems in Iqbal”, *op. cit*. p. 53.
[15] Who rears the seed in the darkness of the ground?
Who lifts the cloud up from the ocean wave?
Who drew here from the West the fruitful wind?
Who made this soil, or who that light of the sun?
Who filled with pearls of grain the tasselled wheat?
Who taught the months by instinct to revolve?
Landlord! this earth is not thine, is not thine,

Nor yet thy father's; no, not thine, nor mine,
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[26] Sharif, M. M., Foreword to *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia,* p. III.
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[36] Schimmel, A. M., "The Ascension of the Poet", *Muhammad Iqbal,* Karachi, 1961, p. 39.
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[41] *Ibid.*
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CHAPTER–II

URDU POETICAL WORKS

BANG-E-DARA

This is a collection of Iqbal's Urdu poems written up to the year 1923. It was first published in 1924. The work is divided into three parts. The first part contains poems written up to the year 1905 when Iqbal left for England. The second part contains poems written during the period 1905–1908 when Iqbal was studying in Europe. The third part contains poems from 1908 onwards until the time of the book's publication. The collection contains a useful Introduction by Sir 'Abdul Qadir, (formerly the Editor of the Urdu Journal *Makhzan)* who was Iqbal's close friend.

Part I

Pre-1905 Poetry–Ideas in Embryo

Bang-e-Dara contains poems written over a period of about twenty five years. During this period many of Iqbal's ideas evolved or underwent important changes; hence there is some unevenness in the quality and content of the poems contained in this collection. However, an analysis of the poems in *Bang-e-Dara*, Part I, brings to light–in an embryonic form–a number of ideas which were later to play a prominent part in Iqbal's philosophy. *Bang-e-Dara* is of particular interest as an introduction to Iqbal's system of thought since the various elements of his poetic and philosophic belief are more clearly discernible and more easily definable in his early verse where their integration is

less complete than in his later writings.

Patriotic Ideas

Bang-e-Dara Part-I, contains many poems which may be called "patriotic". These poems form a part of a broader group of poems which may be called Iqbal's "Nature poetry". "Himala" (The Home of Snow) is the first poem in *Bang-e-Dara,* in which the magnificent grandeur of the tallest mountain range in the world is extolled by a son of the soil. There is an intrusion of Persian vocabulary and the general tone of the poem is influenced by the English Romantics.[1] But the poet strikes a fresh note when he animates the stream which is making its way downwards seeming to sing with joy

چھیڑتی جا اس عراق دلنشیں کے ساز کو
اے مسافر! دل سمجھتا ہے تری آواز کو[2]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 5)

It is interesting to notice the uninhibited ease with which Iqbal animated and addressed the stream in "Himala." He was later to become the master of this technique which gave his poetry that vital spontaneity and dramatic tension which come from a direct confrontation with living things. This mode of expression was to reach its climax perhaps when Iqbal did what even Milton had not dared to do–confronted God and asked Him to justify His ways.

Iqbal's patriotic poetry is essentially buoyant and heart-lifting. It reflects a simple love of the soil and a son's pride in the beauty and splendor of his fatherland, and in the heritage of its history. Iqbal's patriotic poems impart a sense of joy and serenity. The fire that raged within the Poet's soul left on his poetry, as it did on Milton's, a stamp of burning restlessness. Iqbal's patriotic poems are amongst the very few poems from the vast bulk of his poetic writings, which do not bear the impress of an inner torment. It is likely that these poems are the record of moments when the poet sought an escape from the ravages of his spirit in thoughts of love and loveliness.

Nationalistic Ideas

Iqbal's "patriotic" poetry is distinct from his "nationalistic" poetry which bears a reference to political issues. Amongst Iqbal's nationalistic verse in *Bang-e-Dara*, Part I, are to be found well-known poems such as "Tarana-e-Hindi" (The Indian Anthem), "Hindustani Bachon Ka Qaumi Git" (The National Song of the Indian Children), "Naya Shawala" (The New Temple), "Sada'-e-Dard" (The Cry of Pain) and "Taswir-e-Dard" (The Picture of Pain).

These poems may be called "propagandist,"[3] but only in the sense that the poet is trying to persuade people to accept the validity of his philosophic vision. One of the most remarkable things about these poems is that "the propagandist argument is sustained by a magnificent lyricism."[4] So spontaneous was the appeal of these poems that they were sung in streets. As it has been observed, "few poets in recent Indian history have added more to the repertory of popular song than Iqbal."[5]

Derivative Poems

Bang-e-Dara, Part I, contains a number of derivative poems.[6] "Hamdardi" (Sympathy) has been fashioned on Cowper, "Payam-e-Subh" (The Message of the Morn) on Tennyson, and "Rukhsat ai Bazm-e-Jahan" (Farewell to Company of the World) and "Ek Pahar Aur Ek Gulehri" (The Mountain and the Squirrel) on Emerson. There are also several poems written for children which are in simple language and on common subjects and are indicative of Iqbal's interest in communicating with and educating the rising generation.

Attitude to Nature

In a number of his early poems Iqbal writes about natural phenomena. As his muse grew older, Nature occupied less place in his poetry. This is an interesting fact because it points to a gradual turning from the visible to the invisible, from the external to the internal. Like the English Romantic Poets, the young Iqbal too would have said that Nature was the Art of

God. In fact he admits that in his younger days it was Wordsworth–the high-priest of Nature–who saved him from atheism.[7]

Iqbal's attitude to Nature is twofold. In the first place, the Poet is rapt in wonder at the beauty of Nature. Since the beginning of time, the transience of human life and happiness has made man turn to Nature as a symbol of Eternity and lasting Beauty. To the sun, the Poet says:

نے ابتدا کوئی، نہ کوئی انتہا تری
آزاد قید اول و آخر ضیا تری[8]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 31)

The poet also admires Nature for its "impartiality." "Nature, he feels, has no prejudices and preferences; she treats all her children alike. Man, on the other hand, is the creature of prejudice and passion; he falls into factions and creates false barriers. Nature knows no such passions; she is, therefore, the best exemplar of goodwill and tolerance."[9] The Poet wishes wistfully that he, too, were capable of rising "above religious and racial considerations into the religion of humanity."[10] To the Sun, he says, once again

زیر و بالا ایک ہیں تیری نگاہوں کے لیے
آرزو ہے کچھ اسی چشم تماشا کی مجھے[11]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 37)

Iqbal's other attitude to Nature is partly a reaction against his first attitude of admiration for Nature. Natural phenomena–the clouds, the sun and the moon–possess a touch of permanent perfection, a quality of beauty that cannot be tarnished by time. Nature provides an escape for Man, where away from the tug-of-war of competitive living he finds peace and contentment in solitude. Yet the conflict and strife from which Nature provides an escape is precisely what lifts Man "above" Nature. Man is superior to Nature because he can suffer in so many ways. He has an insatiable thirst for knowledge and he suffers because he knows that it is not possible for his knowledge ever to be complete. To the flower, the Poet says:

تو شناسائے خراش عقدۂ مشکل نہیں
اے گل رنگیں ترے پہلو میں شاید دل نہیں[12]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 6)

A writer observes that though Iqbal is "rot without fugitive moods" yet "such moods are transitory and, frequently as he dallies with the sentiment, he ends invariably by establishing the superiority of Man over Nature."[13] Man is superior to Nature also because he is "the only exception to the necessity pervading the universe. By dint of his intelligence, foresight, and strength, he has arisen superior to circumstances and moulded the world to his requirements."[14]

The restlessness of the young Poet finds expression in images of movement,[15] e.g. the image of a cloud or a wave. This imagery supports the general tone of disquietude and questioning in Iqbal's early verse. Perhaps the most striking example of the Poet's identification with a natural phenomenon is in the poem "Mauj-e-Darya" (The River's Wave). The River which is a symbol of life, becomes, by implication, symbolic of all that delimits or confines perfect freedom, thus preventing a union with the Absolute:

کیوں تڑپتی ہوں یہ پوچھے کوئی میرے دل سے
زحمت تنگئ دریا سے گریزاں ہوں میں
وسعت بحر کی فرقت میں پریشاں ہوں میں[16]

(*Bang-e-Dara*: p. 55)

These lines describe a mystic's desire to become one with God and the material obstacles which stand in the way of his desire's consummation.

Iqbal seldom sees Nature in isolation from human life and interests. Even in "Arzu" (The Wish), a poem which is devoted almost wholly to the painting of the Poet's desired haven, there is an intrusion of Iqbal's deep sympathy for his fellow creatures (from whom, in one sense, in these poems he was trying to escape). Iqbal, though he loved Nature, did not

think of it as existing apart from the world of human beings. In "Rukhsat Ai Bazm-e-Jahan" the Poet admits

کچھ جو سنتا ہوں تو اوروں کو سنانے کے لیے
دیکھتا ہوں کچھ تو اوروں کو دکھانے کے لیے[17]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 59)

It seems unlikely that Iqbal was ever seriously tempted to find a permanent escape in Nature. He belonged too much to the world of men to find contentment elsewhere.

Mystic Ideas

One of the most interesting features of Iqbal's early poetry is the mystic element in it. His early verse has as background a tapestry richly woven with ideas having a mystic import, Later, Iqbal was to reject most of the Sufi ethic because "to him it was the source and symbol of passivity and resignation.[18] He recoiled from the logical conclusion of mysticism because he found it impossible to reconcile renunciation of the world with his own dynamic philosophy of action. Iqbal did not, however, reject Sufism in its entirety. Like Rumi, he believed in "the Mysticism of Personality, in which the relation between Man and God is seen as that of the created and the Creator or of lover and the Beloved, that is to say a personal relation."[19]

The following ideas are given frequent expression in Iqbal's early verse:

(i) Man and Nature are organically related.
(ii) The One is found in the many.
(iii) The world is not real and man is separated from his essence.
(iv) Reality is known through self-knowledge.
(v) Intuition is superior to Intellect as a source of knowledge.

(i) *Man and Nature are organically related*: The leaves of the Book of Life are being read by the macrocosmic voice of the universe:

اٹھائے کچھ ورق لالے نے، کچھ نرگس نے، کچھ گل نے
چمن میں ہر طرف بکھری ہوئی ہے داستاں میری[20]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 62)

The state of every flower in the garden is being mirrored in Man.

وہ گل ہوں میں، خزاں ہر گل کی ہے گویا خزاں میری[21]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 63)

(ii) *The One is found in the many:* This idea leads to pantheism and the philosophical doctrine of the immanence of God (*Wahdat-al-Wujud*). Investing Nature with holiness is only a step further from regarding it as the Art of God. Nature from being the Work of God becomes God. The reason for the great appeal of this idea is perhaps to be found in the deep desire of human beings to find a principle of unity underlying the diversity and multiplicity of everything that constitutes experience. This idea occurs frequently in Iqbal's early verse. God's immanence is described thus:

وہی اک حسن ہے، لیکن نظر آتا ہے ہر شے میں[22]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 73)

Iqbal's God is Eternal Beauty and the same Beauty manifests itself in all things

حسن ازل کی پیدا ہر چیز میں جھلک ہے
انساں میں وہ سخن ہے، غنچے میں وہ چٹک ہے
کثرت میں ہوگیا ہے وحدت کا راز مخفی
جگنو میں جو چمک ہے، وہ پھول میں مہک ہے[23]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 84)

This idea is delicately expressed at one place when the Poet refers to the "promise" of God to reveal Himself on the Day of Judgment. Since God is visible in everything, the Poet asks:

دیکھنے والے یہاں بھی دیکھ لیتے ہیں تجھے

پھر یہ وعدہ حشر کا صبر آزما کیوں کر ہوا[24]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 103)

This idea is also represented by the very common lover-beloved symbolism in Persian and Urdu poetry. The "Shama'" (Candle) and the "Parwana" (Moth) appear almost invariably being emblematic of the beloved and the lover respectively. Iqbal's symbols are sometimes very interesting. For instance, he often refers to Moses and Sina'i. Moses is the eternal seeker and Sina'i becomes almost identical with God. The love of the "Parwana" for the "Shama'" 'is referred to thus

کچھ اس میں جوش عاشق حسن قدیم ہے
چھوٹا سا طور تو، یہ ذرا سا کلیم ہے[25]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 27)

One likely reason for Iqbal's fondness for the Moses-Sina'i symbolism is that the love of Moses for God can be translated very effectively into terms of human love. The insistence on the part of Moses to behold God, the demurring on the part of the Beloved (Iqbal frequently refers to the words *Lan Tarani*–"You can never see Me" –which is analogous to the death of the "parwana" at the moment of "fulfilment") when his wish is granted in the form of a vision. All these events can be made poignantly significant in the context of a human relationship.

In his complex poem "Shama'" (The Candle) Iqbal states the doctrine of *Wahdat-al-Wujud* in much the same way as Ibn 'Arabi might have done, i.e. he makes the beloved identical with the lover:

صیاد آپ، حلقۂ دام ستم بھی آپ[26]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 34)

This idea also finds expression in Ghalib's poetry:[27]

اصل شہود و شاہد و مشہود ایک ہے
حیراں ہوں پھر مشاہدہ ہے کس حساب میں[28]

Later, Iqbal abandoned Ibn 'Arabi's philosophy in favour of that of Mujaddid Alf Sani, who differentiated between the subject and the object of Sufi thought.

Iqbal has a good deal of sympathy for Mansur Hallaj who had been executed for saying *Ana-al-Haqq* (I am the Truth). Iqbal does not consider such a proclamation blasphemous for "the essence of the mystical experience, since it transcends all multiplicity, must transcend the dualism of subject and object."[29] Hallaj has become "the prototype of the great lover who sheds his blood in endless love and who becomes 'Mansur' (victorious) in his death on the gibbet."[30] Iqbal refers to Mansur's "heresy" in this trenchant, half-ironical observation

منصور کو ہوا لب گویا پیام موت
اب کیا کسی کے عشق کا دعٰوی کرے کوئی[31]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 105)

(iii)*This World is not real and Man is separated from his Essence*: The Mystic feels that there is planted in him a "knowledge" of his eternal abode to which he constantly wishes to return. This idea is similar to the Platonic idea of Man wishing to return to the Source of his being. Man has been exiled from his home (Adam's exile from Eden is symbolic of that). The corollary of this idea, namely, that this world is a place of banishment, finds expression in Iqbal's early verse

زندگانی جس کو کہتے ہیں فراموشی ہے یہ
خواب ہے، غفلت ہے، سرمستی ہے، بیہوشی ہے یہ
روح کو لیکن کسی گم گشتہ شے کی ہے ہوس
ورنہ اس صحرا میں کیوں نالاں ہے یہ مثل جرس
حسن کے اس عام جلوے میں بھی یہ بیتاب ہے
زندگی اس کی مثال ماھئ بے آب ہے[32]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 95)

The world is an illusion, and it is only the "misguided eye" which takes it for real. The Poet likens himself to a traveler who has lost his way because he has been taken in by what he has seen:

منزل کا اشتیاق ہے، گم کردہ راہ ہوں
اے شمع! میں اسیر فریب نگاہ ہوں[33]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 34)

To an infant the Poet says, simply and sadly:

میری آنکھوں کو لبھا لیتا ہے حسن ظاہری
کم نہیں کچھ تیری نادانی سے نادانی مری[34]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 61)

(iv) *Reality is known through Self-Knowledge*. Since the external world is an illusory one, only an introspective search can yield knowledge of Reality, but knowledge does not come itself. It comes only through Love. "Enlightenment comes with Love–Love in the poetic sense of perfect devotion to a Muse who, whatever apparent cruelties she may commit or however seemingly irrational her behaviour, knows, what she is doing."[35] Iqbal often refers to Love as a bringer of enlightenment

دل میں ہو سوز محبت کا وہ چھوٹا سا شرر
نور سے جس کے ملے راز حقیقت کی خبر[36]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 38)

Love makes it possible for a mystic to find God. For Iqbal it also enables the Self and the larger unit of a community to find their destiny. Love has, for Iqbal, the regenerative power of Shelley's West Wind:

محبت ہی سے پائی ہے شفا بیمار قوموں نے
کیا ہے اپنے بخت خفتہ کو بیدار قوموں نے[37]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 72.)

(v) Intuition is Superior to Intellect as a Source of

Knowledge: One also finds in Iqbal's early verse an idea which was to recur throughout his writings–that intuition was superior to intellect as a mode of knowledge. Iqbal was, from the very outset of his philosophic career, a believer in the "heart" (which traditionally, in the metaphor of poetry, is the seat of intuition).

Part II

1905-1908 –Period of Preparation

Part II of *Bang-e-Dara* contains the poems Iqbal wrote during the three years when he was in Europe. This period was for him "a period of preparation rather than of fulfilment."[38] The poems written during this period display the gradual transition in Iqbal's views. He continues to express his love of Nature. "Ek Sham" (An Evening–on the River Neckar near Heidelberg), for instance, is a poem that "has an atmosphere of peace and quiet which touches with soft finger some secret chord of the eternal harp of Nature."[39]

The idea of Love figures very prominently in the poems Iqbal wrote while in Europe. The first poem in Part II of *Bang-e-Dara, is* "Muhabbat" (Love) which "has beautiful thought and a finally controlled yet vivid imagination, and it obviously expresses deep feeling."[40] Love unfolds the hidden depths and resources of the Self

جب سے آباد ترا عشق ہوا سینے میں
نئے جوہر ہوئے پیدا مرے آئینے میں[41]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 121)

Stress on Beauty

There is also much emphasis on Beauty:

حسن سے عشق کی فطرت کو ہے تحریک کمال[42]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 122)

Immanence of God

The idea of *Wahdat-al-Wujud* continues to appear:

کمال وحدت عیاں ہے ایسا کہ نوک نشتر سے تو جو چھیڑے

یقیں ہے مجھ کو گرے رگ گل سے قطرہ انسان کے لہو کا[43]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 146)

Oneness of Mankind and Degrees of Consciousness

The idea of the oneness of human life and of varying degrees of consciousness is expressed thus:

جو ہے بیدار انساں میں وہ گہری نیند سوتا ہے
شجر میں، پھول میں، حیوان میں، پتھر میں، ستارے میں[44]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 147)

Emphasis on Action

The idea of struggle, of active participation, has grown enormously in importance during Iqbal's sojourn abroad. The Moon says to the Stars:

جنبش سے ہے زندگی جہاں کی
یہ رسم قدیم ہے یہاں کی
ہے دوڑتا اشہب زمانہ
کھا کھا کے طلب کا تازیانہ[45]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 144)

So keen is the Poet that Life be all action that he almost turns his back on Art:

مدیر مخزن سے کوئی اقبال جا کے میرا پیام کہہ دے
جو کام کچھ کر رہی ہیں قومیں انہیں مذاق سخن نہیں ہے[46]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 144)

Islamic Internationalism

During the period of 1905-1908 we see Iqbal becoming more and more conscious of the universal character of the Islamic community:

نرالا سارے جہاں سے اس کو عرب کے معمار نے بنایا
بنا ہمارے حصار ملت کی اتحاد وطن نہیں ہے[47]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 144.)

During 1905-1908, Iqbal wrote perhaps some of his most beautiful verses–beautiful alike in conception and rendering. Bergson's vitalist philosophy is reflected in the spirit of restlessness which comes out in so many poems written during this period.[48]

Contemplative Ideal Replaced

The last poem of Part II of *Bang-e-Dara* (written in March, 1907) speaks of an "Unveiling"

زمانہ آیا ہے بے حجابی کا‘ عام دیدار یار ہوگا
سکوت تھا پردہ دار جس کا وہ راز اب آشکار ہوگا
گزر گیا اب وہ دور ساقی کہ چھپ کے پیتے تھے پینے والے
بنے گا سارا جہان میخانہ‘ ہر کوئی بادہ خوار ہوگا
کبھی جو آوارۂ جنوں تھے، وہ بستیوں میں پھر آ بسیں گے
برہنہ پائی وہی رہے گی‘ مگر نیا خار زار ہوگا
سنا دیا گوش منتظر کو حجاز کی خامشی نے آخر
جو عہد صحرائیوں سے باندھا گیا تھا پھر استوار ہوگا
نکل کے صحرا سے جس نے روما کی سلطنت کو الٹ دیا تھا
سنا ہے یہ قدسیوں سے میں نے وہ شیر پھر ہوشیار ہوگا[49]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, pp. 149–158)

As has been observed by a biographer of Iqbal, the old symbolism is still there. "The ideals and the bottles are the same, but there is a hint of change in the quality of the wine... The wine is no longer meant purely for intoxication and self-forgetfulness as in old days; it is to be a stimulus to activity even to illumination…The contemplative ideal is about to be replaced by a doctrine of activism…The time of unveiling had, indeed, come."[50]

Underlying most of the poems written between 1899 and 1904 had been Iqbal's lament at the plight of the Indian Muslim and at the sorrows of the Muslims of the world who

were engaged in their struggle for independence.[51] Iqbal's grief, deepening in intensity during his stay abroad, found utterance in his famous lament upon Sicily which had once been a symbol of Islam's glory and was now a bitter reminder of what was no more. To the island of Sicily, Iqbal says:

نالہ کش شیراز کا بلبل ہوا بغداد پر
داغ رویا خون کے آنسو جہان آباد پر
آسماں نے دولت غرناطہ جب برباد کی
ابن بدروں کے دل ناشاد نے فریاد کی
غم نصیب اقبال کو بخشا گیا ماتم ترا
چن لیا تقدیر نے وہ دل کہ تھا محرم ترا[52]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 142)

Part III

1908-1924- Period of Fulfillment

In *Bang-e-Dara* Part III, (which contains poems written during or after the year 1908), some of Iqbal's important ideas and feelings emerge very clearly. On the one hand, Iqbal has become keenly aware not only of the internationalism implicit in Islam but also of the dynamism inherent in the creed. On the other hand, he realizes how gravely into error the Muslims of his own times have fallen. Content to rest on their past laurels they have lost the spirit of the warriors of the Arabian desert. Iqbal often turns to look back at the history of Islam, to reminisce over its vanished glory–not with the purpose of dwelling on the past but with the purpose of deriving from it the inspiration to build life anew.

"Shikwa" and "Jawab-e-Shikwa"–Religious Ideals Revealed:

In 1911 came "Shikwa" (The Complaint) an epoch-making poem. "The slow melancholy lament of his earlier poems gathers momentum and force, fed by his great

emotional reservoir, till it ends like the blast of a mighty trumpet, which shakes us with a rude shock."[53] The occasion for this Complaint was the invasion of Turkey–the only independent Muslim nation at that time–by Bulgaria during the first Balkan War. This event seemed to Iqbal "to mark at once the lowest ebb of political fortune of Islam, and the most urgent challenge to Muslims all over the world to prove themselves worthy heirs of a great inheritance."[54] Shortly before the "Complaint" was written, Tripoli had been seized from the Turks by the Italians. It was only a step further in the progressive falling-apart of the Ottoman hegemony over parts of Asia, Africa, and South-East Europe, but it had very far-reaching repercussions on the Indian Muslims who were already quite overwhelmed by a sense of desolation and despair. Iqbal's poem has been described as "a kind of modern version of Job; only Job complained of his personal misfortunes to God, while the Complaint is communal and sets out to voice the grievances of his people against their God. It does so magnificently."[55]

In the first part of the poem Iqbal, "as the voice of the despairing patriot"[56], proclaimed his anger at the decadence of the Muslims, and in his rage held God responsible for it."[57] He wants to know from God why it is "that while the ungodly flourish, the Muslims who fear God and eschew evil and keep His commandments languish in perpetual misery and are deserted by their God."[58]

صفحۂ دہر سے باطل کو مٹایا ہم نے
نوع انساں کو غلامی سے چھڑایا ہم نے
تیرے کعبے کو جبینوں سے بسایا ہم نے
تیرے قرآن کو سینوں سے لگایا ہم نے
پھر بھی ہم سے یہ گلہ ہے کہ وفادار نہیں
ہم وفادار نہیں، تو بھی تو دلدار نہیں[59]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 181)

With "The Complaint", Iqbal became the Poet of the Muslim world. Two years after this daring poem which presumed to question God Himself, came the answer. "God defends himself by not unfamiliar arguments, retorting that the Muslims are to blame for their own misfortunes, owing to their lethargy and formalism."[60] The reason for the decadence of the Muslims is that "there is neither fire left in their hearts nor Divine love; they have forgotten the love of the Prophet, have transformed their religiously-founded unity into earth-rooted nationalism,[61] and, therefore, fallen a prey to the imperialists. God has not been unjust to the Muslims; they have been unjust to themselves.[62] In this poem "the ideals which were to rule Iqbal's poetry up to his death are expressed lucidly for the first time: the force of all-conquering love of God and the Prophet, and the importance of genuine Islamic values for the strengthening of the personality."[63]

The central theme of both "Shikwa" and "Jawab-e-Shikwa" is "the decay of Islam from its former greatness, and the measures to be adopted if it was to re-establish its authority and regain its vitality."[64] It was not a new subject but Iqbal "stated the problem in singularly arresting directness."[65] The mode of presentation–a dramatic dialogue between the Poet and God had "an immediate and compelling appeal."[66]

"Shama' aur Sha'ir"–First Clear Formulation of Iqbal's Philosophy

Iqbal gives his message to society clearly and coherently for the first time[67] perhaps in "Shama' aur Sha'ir" (The Candle and the Poet) written in February 1912, when the Ottoman Turks were suffering reverses at the hands of the Italians at Tripoli. Of the Poet's art, he says:

کہہ گئے ہیں شاعری جزویست از پیغمبری
ہاں سنا دے محفل ملت کو پیغام سروش![68]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 209)

Of the individual's relation to the community, he says:

فرد قائم ربط ملت سے ہے، تنہا کچھ نہیں
موج ہے دریا میں، اور بیرون دریا کچھ نہیں[69]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 210)

In this poem we also find a philosophical conception "hitherto unknown in the history of Urdu literature. Reality in the fullest sense is inaccessible through knowledge and its true nature is revealed to Man only under the spell and influence of Beauty."[70]

Ideas of Islamic Renaissance–Philosophy of Action

In 1922 was published "Khizr-e-Rah" (Khizr, the Guide) written during the days of the Turko-Greek struggle in Anatolia after the First World War. It is a landmark in modern Urdu poetry and a beacon-light to latter-day poets.[71] A year later "Tulu'-e-Islam" (The Dawn of Islam) was published. Both poems were a reaction to political unrest and the critical situation of the Muslim World following the collapse of the Caliphate.[72] "Khizr-e-Rah" bears signs of a quest:

آگ ہے، اولاد ابراھیم ہے، نمرود ہے!
کیا کسی کو پھر کسی کا امتحاں مقصود ہے؟[73]

(Bang-e-Dara p. 290)

"Tulu'-e-lslam" written after Ataturk's triumph brings a message of hope and faith. To the Muslim, Iqbal says:

سبق پھر پڑھ صداقت کا عدالت کا شجاعت کا
لیا جائے گا تجھ سے کام دنیا کی امامت کا![74]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 307)

Both "Khizr-e-Rah" and "Tulu'-e-Islam" contain Iqbal's philosophy of action. Action alone can lead to the realization of the self

عمل سے زندگی بنتی ہے جنت بھی جنہم بھی
یہ خاکی اپنی فطرت میں نہ نوری ہے نہ ناری ہے[75]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 313)

Iqbal is also conscious of his own role as a seer who can foretell the future

کھول کر آنکھیں مرے آئینۂ گفتار میں
آنے والے دور کی دھندلی سی اک تصویر دیکھ![76]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 303)

Miscellaneous Poems

One of the most moving elegies in the language is the poem Iqbal wrote on his mother's death.[77] This elegy has been described as "the silent tear of the venerable thinker which flows imperceptibly but the grief it holds within it would cause a whole world to sink in sorrow."[78]

There is a collection of humorous verses which follows *Bang-e-Dara* part III, most of these verses are aimed at satirizing political and social evils.

Importance of *Bang-e-Dara*

Bang-e-Dara is of great importance to us because it "shows clearer than anything else the spiritual development which had taken place in the Poet's mind and had led him from the traditional way of feeling, of longing and tenderness and from the skilful adaptation of some English poems to a new way of life."[79] The title of the book is very significant. The symbol of the caravan's bell is repeated in all phases of Iqbal's writings.[80] The symbol used also by Rumi and Fayzi may perhaps be seen as "an implicit refutation of Hafiz's complaint in the famous first 'ghazal' of his Dewan that there is no rest for the lover, every moment the bell calling to new journeys."[81] Iqbal's song is like the bell of a caravan, a message of awakening, of reaching out for new worlds and new horizons

اقبال کا ترانہ بانگ درا ہے گویا
ہوتا ہے جادہ پیما پھر کارواں ہمارا[82]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 173)

Iqbal's early 'ghazals' are generally in the style of his mentor Dagh. But even in them we see a boldness of image

and metaphor, a spirit of questioning and argumentativeness which is both refreshing and stimulating. According to one writer, Iqbal's early poems "lack the all–pervading tone of authoritative philosophical wisdom with which the later works are imbued. These early poems are fragile, delicate, spontaneous works of great beauty."[83] A translator of Iqbal's verse regards two of Iqbal's early poems "Jugnu" (The Firefly) and "Gul-e-Puzhmurda" (Withered Rose) as being "worthy of inclusion in a world collection of the best lyric verse."[84]

There are those who read Iqbal's poetry for the challenge it presents, for its insistence on action, its violence and urgency, its power and hard lustre. But there will always be those who read Iqbal only for the melody in his soul. A writer commenting upon "Ek Sham" says, "it is by no means easy to write a lyric so compact, so complete, and so wholly poetic as this of Iqbal's. Nothing earthly has touched its mysterious ethereal emotion, because the poet, as it were, breaks into a song, and the song came out of the very depths of his soul. The fact is that Iqbal was at his greatest when he simply mused over life, rather than when he expounded his political and philosophical theories with the vehemence which was characteristic of him in later days."[85]

It is quite true that in *Bang-e-Dara* Iqbal is at his freshest and most natural, and shows genuine lyrical grace. It has been said of him that "at his best as a lyrical poet Iqbal is a curious mixture of the fresh observation of W.H. Davies with the solemn logical beauty of the Bridges of 'The Testament of Beauty': he has the qualities in part of these two very considerable English poets."[86]

There are a group of poems in *Bang-e-Dara* which deserve a word in passing. These poems are on Ghalib, Dagh, Swami Tirath Nath, Ram, Shibli, Hali, 'Urfi, Nanak, and Shakespeare. Since Iqbal is often accused of being narrow in his sympathies, it is worthwhile pointing to these poems which illustrate his sincere appreciation of those whom he admired not necessarily because they shared his views on life but primarily because they realised exalted literary and spiritual ideals.

From one point of view, *Bang-e-Dara* is the most interesting of all Iqbal's poetical works, since it contains the greatest variety of his poems–in style, texture and content. There is, in *Bang-e-Dara*, as it were, something to please everyone's taste. This volume shows the development of Iqbal's art, from melodramatic lyricism to finely-balanced poems of a unified sensibility and thought, from pantheism to unityism and from nationalism to universalism. It is, decidedly, the most representative of Iqbal's works.

It is also a work, one reading of which, according to one writer, will stir one's whole being and "will leave its readers with the impression of a mind of extraordinary power animated with flames of urgency and vitality, and of a soul surging with emotions like a river over-flowing its margins."[87]

BAL-E-JIBRIL

Bal-e-Jibril was published in 1935, eleven years after the publication of *Bang-e-Dara*, a period in which Iqbal concentrated on the writing of Persian poetry. The influence of Persian is very marked in *Bal-e-Jibril*. Iqbal uses Persian vocabulary, epithets, combinations and even structure.[88] Nevertheless, this collection is Iqbal's "acknowledged masterpiece in Urdu."[89]

The Concept of Love Emphasised

"Masjid-e-Qurtaba": *Bal-e-Jibril* contains Iqbal's philosophy of the Self as do his other works, but the primary emphasis is on Love–Love, in a single word, is the central theme of this volume. It finds perhaps its most consummate expression in "Masjid-e-Qurtaba" (The Mosque of Cordoba) written in Spain in 1931. The poem opens with a description of the destructive power of the scythe of Time which ultimately lays low the highest and the mightiest. Human Life and Happiness and Beauty must all pass away. Iqbal describes Time in terms of a two-coloured silken thread.[90]

This image is symbolic of the ambiguous character of Time which seems, as believed in ancient Iran, to distribute rewards and punishments irrespective of human motives and efforts.[91] But this ambiguity of love, the apparent failure in application of the idea of poetic justice is "the touchstone by which man's worth is measured."[92] Most human labour is lost as the wheel of Time goes on revolving relentlessly. When one views the life of Man against the history of the vast wastage of human striving, one becomes aware of the insignificance of human life and the futility of ambition and endeavour. But there are blessed moments when one sees a glimpse of immortality and eternity. Keats had seen symbols of eternity–as that which had escaped destruction–in the song of a Nightingale and the figures on a Grecian Urn. For Iqbal, the Mosque of Cordoba is such a symbol. The Mosque has escaped destruction because it has been built with hands of Love–Love whose light shines undimmed while all the world is crumbling into dust.

A great work of art has the power to make the spirit of Man expand and, in a moment of inspired ecstasy, to comprehend the whole world of being. "For Iqbal, the experience before the great Mosque has a kind of revelatory quality. He saw revealed there vision of the ideal."[93]

تجھ سے ہوا آشکار بندۂ مومن کا راز
اس کے دنوں کی تپش اس کی شبوں کا گداز
اس کا مقام بلند اس کا خیال عظیم
اس کے سرور اس کا شوق اس کا نیاز اس کا ناز
ہاتھ ہے اللہ کا بندۂ مومن کا ہاتھ
غالب و کار آفریں کارکشا کارساز[94]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, pp. 131–132)

The Mosque was a work of art created out of love and faith. If Muslims could once again find such love and faith they could become creative once again. The poem ends on a

note of prophecy. The world of Islam is on the brink of a revolution which will make the Muslims "like a sharp sword in the Hand of God cutting, changing, moulding, shaping and casting history in accordance with their ideas."[95]

"Lenin before God"–Protest against Socio-Political and Religious Exploitation

"Lenin" another major poem in *Bal-e-Jibril* shows Lenin in the presence of God "whom he has supposed to be the invention of priests."[96] Lenin asks God a pertinent question: whose God is He?

وہ کون سا آدم ہے کہ تو جس کا ہے معبود
وہ آدم خاکی کہ جو ہے زیر سماوات؟
مشرق کے خداوند سفیدان فرنگی!
مغرب کے خداوند درخشندہ فلزات![97]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 145)

According to Iqbal the West is loveless and where there is no love the human being is violated in so many ways, The lot of the labourer is particularly hard

تو قادر و عادل ہے مگر تیرے جہاں میں
ہیں تلخ بہت بندۂ مزدور کے اوقات[98]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 147)

Moved by Lenin's bluntness, the angels sing

عقل ہے بے زمام ابھی عشق ہے بے مقام ابھی!
نقش گر ازل ترا نقش ہے نا تمام ابھی![99]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 148)

God is angered and orders the angels to smash up the glass-house of modern civilization[100] crowded as it is with those who exploit the human body and spirit

جس کھیت سے دھقان کو میسر نہیں روزی
اس کھیت کے ہر خوشۂ گندم کو جلا دو

کیوں خالق و مخلوق میں حائل رہیں پردے
پیران کلیسا کو کلیسا سے اٹھا دو[101]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 149)

"Saqi-Nama" –The Evolution and Purpose of Life:

This poem is concerned with the development of life through its various stages. Life is the eternal desire of consciousness to outgrow its own limits. Life is pictured as an ever-moving stream which never comes to rest. Life is, in fact, the name for a quest, a seeking and searching, a burning without end. Iqbal says,

سمجھتا ہے تو راز ہے زندگی
فقط ذوق پرواز ہے زندگی
بہت اس نے دیکھے ہیں پست و بلند
سفر اس کو منزل سے بڑھ کر پسند[102]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 171)

Selfhood attains its perfection in Man whose destiny lies far beyond this world of colour and sound. The world was created for him, not he for the world. He must conquer the world but must not consider this his ultimate achievement for

خودی کی یہ ہے منزل اولیں
مسافر! یہ تیرا نشیمن نہیں
تری آگ اس خاکداں سے نہیں
جہاں تجھ سے ہے تو جہاں سے نہیں[103]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 174)

***Bal-e-Jibril*: Some Salient Features and Significance**:

One writer points out that *Bal-e-Jibril* has overtones of despondency, frustration and loneliness.[104] The lines at the beginning of the book adapted from Bhartarihari point to the deepening strain of melancholy and despair in Iqbal's work

پھول کی پتی سے کٹ سکتا ہے ہیرے کا جگر
مرد ناداں پر کلام نرم و نازک بے اثر[105]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 3)

This strain may also be seen in lines such as these

بہت دیکھے ہیں میں نے مشرق و مغرب کے میخانے
یہاں ساقی نہیں پیدا وہاں بے ذوق ہے صہبا[106]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 38)

But the lines adapted from Bhartarihari may well be interpreted differently. Iqbal's verse is not easily described as tender and delicate utterance. It has been said about Iqbal: "If we are to meet him on his own terms, we have to know that he is often fierce, and that his is a fierceness we should be familiar with as it has its intensity in the single-minded intensity of Semitic prophecy."[107] Iqbal may have used the lines in question to justify his own use of "fierce" words. Soft words are ineffective, so he must use the lash of words that sting and hurt and prick. It has been said that *Bal-e-Jibril* and *Zarb-e-Kalim* lose their "lyrical touch in a gradually deepening philosophy."[108] The very titles of the two books are significant. Gabriel is the Messenger of God who has the gift of prophecy, and the Stroke of Moses has miraculous powers. Iqbal must perform the work of both to prophesy and to rouse to action. Therefore, the exuberance of the lyrical outpouring of Iqbal's earlier works must necessarily give way to a sterner, more austere mode of expression.

But though there are traces of dependency in *Bal-e-Jibril*, Iqbal is by no means in a state of despair. His optimism and faith shine through the pages of the book. The night is dark and the traveller is alone but the Poet's song is a flame which illumines the way

اندھیری شب ہے، جدا اپنے قافلے سے ہے تو
ترے لیے ہے مرا شعلۂ نوا قندیل[109]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 93)

Bal-e-Jibril contains, "from the artistic point of view, the finest specimens of Iqbal's Urdu poetry."[110] In it the flow of poetry is "easy and felicitous." Feeling and thought find perfect integration in this volume of verse. The imagery is able to support Iqbal's themes or in T.S. Eliot's terminology, Iqbal is able to find an objective correlative for his vision. Unlike *Bang-e-Dara* in which Iqbal, like the early Shelley, sometimes lapses into sentimentality because he is unable to project his vision outside himself, or translate it into terms which can sustain it, in *Bal-e-Jibril* there is perfect co-ordination between the imagery and the import of a song. The verse is finely controlled and emotionally very satisfying. It is also very inspiring because Iqbal gave to it the strength and fervour of his own convictions. He was no longer groping for answers to questions. He was sure of himself, and whether or not we share his beliefs, we cannot help feeling, having read *Bal-e-Jibril*, that it is the work of someone whose faith, like Abraham's, has been tried by fire and not found wanting.

ZARB-E-KALIM

Zarb-e-Kalim was published in 1936 and was dedicated to Sir Hamid Ullah Khan, the Nawwab of Bhopal who was a friend and a patron of Iqbal. The collection was described by Iqbal as a declaration of war against the modern age. It reviews and criticises different aspects of modern life. The book is divided into six parts.

(a) **Islam and the Muslim**

Iqbal, who had only two more years to live when *Zarb-e-Kalim* was published, suffered from moods of great despondency and bitterness when he reflected upon the wide gulf between the ideal Islam and the real Islam. Sometimes, in words reminiscent of Swift's biting satire, Iqbal lashes out at the so called defenders of faith

خود بدلتے نہیں قرآں کو بدل دیتے ہیں
ہوئے کس درجہ فقیہان حرم بے توفیق[111]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 14)

What goes under the name of Islam is not really Islam for it lacks in vigour and might. The preacher of the creed has become spiritually impotent and can only preach a life-stultifying, hope-destroying mysticism. Pointedly Iqbal tells him to go and meditate in a cave–an obvious attack on monasticism–for he has not the power to translate the dynamism of Islam into concrete terms.

وحدت کی حفاظت نہیں بے قوت بازو
آتی نہیں کچھ کام یہاں عقل خدا داد
اے مرد خدا تجھ کو وہ قوت نہیں حاصل
جا بیٹھ کسی غار میں اللہ کو کر یاد
مسکینی و محکومی و نومیدیٔ جاوید
جس کا یہ تصوف ہو وہ اسلام کر ایجاد[112]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 30)

In a short but profound poem Iqbal contrasts the ideals of Islam with modern political ideals as embodied in the League of Nations. Islam believes in the brotherhood of all men and goes far beyond, in removing individual differences and creating goodwill among men, than does an association of nations brought into existence merely by motives of political expediency. What good would a League of Nations do, asks Iqbal, if the unity of mankind remains hidden from sight?

اس دور میں اقوام کی صحبت بھی ہوئی عام
پوشیدہ نگاہوں سے رہی وحدت آدم
مکے نے دیا خاک جنیوا کو یہ پیغام
جمعیت اقوام کہ جمعیت آدم؟[113]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, pp 54–55)

(b) **Education and Culture**

Modern man, Iqbal points out, is “equipped with power

but lacking in vision." This is so because he has become so entangled with his own thoughts that he cannot find a way out of the maze. Iqbal says with mixed feelings of sadness and sarcasm:

ڈھونڈنے والا ستاروں کی گذر گاہوں کا
اپنے افکار کی دنیا میں سفر کر نہ سکا![114]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 67)

To the student and the artist Iqbal says that they must get acquainted with the storms of life, with the rough winds and waves so that their life and work is not just a tale signifying nothing. Whatever action they perform it must aim at the perfection of the Self

حیات و موت نہیں التفات کے لائق
فقط خودی ہے خودی کی نگاہ کی مقصود[115]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 66)

Since the journey of the Self never ends, Tipu Sultan urges

تو رہ نورد شوق ہے منزل نہ کر قبول
لیلی بھی ہم نشیں ہو تو محمل نہ کر قبول[116]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 71)

(c) **Woman**

The third part of *Zarb-e-Kalim*, is entitled "Woman." The present day Muslim woman would naturally turn to this section with interest hoping to find understanding and sympathy in Iqbal–a man deeply human in so many ways. But she is likely to feel a little baffled and perhaps somewhat disappointed to read what she finds there. No doubt Iqbal has praised womankind and the following lines are very well-known indeed:

وجود زن سے ہے تصویر کائنات میں رنگ
اسی کے ساز سے ہے زندگی کا سوز دروں
شرف میں بڑھ کے ثریا سے مشت خاک اس کی

که ہر شرف ہے اسی درج کا در مکنوں
مکالمات فلاطون نہ لکھ سکی، لیکن
اسی کے شعلے سے ٹوٹا شرار افلاطوں[117]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 92)

But reading the other poems in this section one is bound to come to the conclusion that though Iqbal is aware of the problems of women, yet he is unwilling to commit himself to the task of finding a solution to them.

It is indeed astonishing, and not a little regrettable, that a poet who could write

ہزار خوف ہو لیکن زباں ہو دل کی رفیق
یہی رہا ہے ازل سے قلندروں کا طریق[118]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 53)

should be content with making such evasive statements

اس بحث کا کچھ فیصلہ میں کر نہیں سکتا
گو خوب سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ زہر ہے وہ قند
کیا فائدہ کچھ کہہ کے بنوں اور بھی معتوب
پہلے ہی خفا مجھ سے ہیں تہذیب کے فرزند
اس راز کو عورت کی بصیرت ہی کرے فاش
مجبور ہیں معذور ہیں مردان خرد مند
کیا چیز ہے آرائش و قیمت میں زیادہ
آزادئ نسواں کہ زمرد کا گلوبند؟[119]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 93)

It is disappointing to see that Iqbal who considered no problem insuperable for a man of courage and vision should merely say on the plight of Woman

میں بھی مظلومئ نسواں سے ہوں غمناک بہت
نہیں ممکن مگر اس عقدۂ مشکل کی کشود[120]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 96)

The conclusion is inescapable. Regarding the question of women's education and emancipation "Iqbal was not able to relinquish his conservatism in spite of his liberal ideas and progressive approach to Muslim tradition in other respects."[121] Iqbal's attack on the Western woman–whom he pictures as childless[122] and unwomanly because of her education[123] is an unjust generalization which is bound to annoy not only the Western woman but all women who do not consider emancipation the necessary cause of a lack or loss of femininity. As his biographers indicate, Iqbal was a loving son to his mother, a dutiful husband to his wives, and a kind father to his daughter. As his friendship with 'Atiya Begum indicates, he was also able to look upon a woman as a friend with whom he could discuss personal and impersonal matters. But it hardly seems likely that Iqbal would have given equal opportunities to men and women to develop their potentialities. His attitude to women, even when he praises them, smacks a little of condescension. At the back of his mind there seems to lurk the age-old idea that the place of woman is the home and that the bearing of children is her greatest achievement. Western influence and education is bad because it takes women away from the home and opens before them other avenues of self-expression. To-day, even in Iqbal's homeland, many women no longer find complete fulfillment in the home, important though it is, and are finding other ways of self-realization. It is rather difficult to say how Iqbal would have reacted to the present-day trends in female emancipation. Many of his ideas changed with changing times and it is possible that if he had seen that it was possible for women to remain "feminine" even though emancipated, he would have been more in favour of their emancipation in all spheres. At it is, it is sad that Iqbal who was so sensitive to the suffering of people should have given so little care and thought to the misery and helplessness of the women of his country. His treatment of the problems of women (which are amongst the most urgent problems of today) is superficial and does not reveal a basic understanding

of the very complex set of factors and feelings which confront the women of a society in a state of transition. As a learned writer remarks, Iqbal's attitude to women is "perhaps one of weakest aspects of his thought."[124]

(d) **Literature and Art**

The section on "Literature and Art" contains most of Iqbal's ideas on aesthetics for Iqbal does not believe in 'Art for Art's sake' and for him Art, like every thing else, must be judged from the standpoint of personality[125]

سرود و شعر و سیاست، کتاب و دین و ہنر
گہر ہیں ان کی گرہ میں تمام یکدانہ
اگر خودی کی حفاظت کریں تو عین حیات
نہ کر سکیں تو سراپا فسون و افسانہ[126]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 98)

An artist must not engage in imitation but look in his heart and write. He can, then, create a whole new world of light and beauty

دیکھے تو زمانے کو اگر اپنی نظر سے
افلاک منور ہوں ترے نور سحر سے[127]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 120)

Only he, who lives in accordance with his appreciative self, can transcend the limitations of time and space, and escape dissolution. He, who can create, moulds eternity out of the fire of his breath

وہی زمانے کی گردش پہ غالب آتا ہے
جو ہر نفس سے کرے عمر جاوداں پیدا[128]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 99)

(e) Politics in East and West

The section on "Politics in East and West" includes poems on the Voices of Karl Marx and Mussolini, Bolshevik Russia, and the League of Nations. Iqbal feels dissatisfied

with the politics in both East and West

یہاں مرض کا سبب ہے غلامی و تقلید
وہاں مرض کا سبب ہے نظام جمہوری
نہ مشرق اس سے بری ہے نہ مغرب اس سے بری
جہاں میں عام ہے قلب و نظر کی رنجوری[129]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 164)

Europe which has lost its soul in the smoke of its machines (which, to Iqbal, is the same as having sold it to the Devil) is no longer worthy of a vision of God

تاریک ہے افرنگ مشینوں کے دھوئیں سے
یہ وادی ایمن نہیں شایان تجلی[130]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 141)

The political situation can become bitterly ironical. Iqbal brings out the irony of the situation when Mussolini says to his rivals, East and West, that he is only carrying on the work of exploitation which they had begun. They are, therefore, in no position to reproach him.

تم نے لوٹے بے نوا صحرا نشینوں کے خیام
تم نے لوٹی کشت دھقاں! تم نے لوٹے تخت و تاج
پردۂ تہذیب میں غارت گری، آدم کشی
کل روا رکھی تھی تم نے، میں روا رکھتا ہوں آج[131]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 152)

(f) The Thoughts of Mehrab Gul Afghan:

This section contains Iqbal's message to the warlike Afghans but also to humanity–namely, that the importance of the Self be understood. The refrain of one poem sums up the message

اپنی خودی پہچان[132]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 171)

In a beautiful poem Iqbal says to the not-too-wise young that our prayers are not always granted in the way in which we expect, but they do have a marked effect upon our Self and that is what really matters, for

تری خودی میں اگر انقلاب ہو پیدا
عجب نہیں ہے کہ یہ چار سو بدل جائے[133]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 167)

***Zarb-e-Kalim*: Significance and Appraisal**: The title of *Zarb-e-Kalim* is significant–Moses as a symbol has figured a good deal in Iqbal's poetry. He is the eternal lover, the seeker of God who insisted upon seeing Him. He is also the possessor of the miracle–performing Shining Hand and the Magical Staff. At places he becomes a composite symbol of Love and Power. The Stroke of Moses is the ideal which the faithful attains; it is also the ideal which in this book and in his other writings, Iqbal sets before the Muslims and before humanity.

There is considerable difference of opinion regarding the poetical merit of *Zarb-e-Kalim.* Those who turn to it seeking for melody are disappointed. Iqbal Singh writing about *Zarb-e-Kalim* and *Armaghan-e-Hijaz* observes, "Iqbal's lyrical and imaginative impulse is distinctly on the decline, the language is obscure, the expression tends to be verbose and even clumsy, and there is a general opaqueness which points to the involution of the spirit, the dessication of the springs of inspiration."[134] A learned historian of Urdu literature would not agree that Iqbal is "verbose", since he describes the poet as being (in this volume of verse) "simple even to bareness. In his earlier poetry he would sometimes tear the passions to tatters, and take grandiloquence for passion."[135] Another writer states that the style of this volume is simpler and more direct than that of Iqbal's earlier Urdu verse, and that it proceeds in a classically restrained manner which reminds one of Goethe.[136] Regarding the verse, V. G. Kiernan's comment that it is "critical, rather than lyrical though often

highly polished"[137] seems a fair summing-up.

The main controversy which centres round *Zarb-e-Kalim* is hinted at by H. T. Sorley when he says "the poet is buried beneath the philosopher. The lute has been cast away from the strophe of the expositor."[138] What is sometimes said about Shakespeare's Last Plays is often said about *Zarb-e-Kalim* and *Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, namely, that they are the work of an exhausted man who has written himself out and shows sign of waning inspiration and fatigue. It is certainly true that *Zarb-e-Kalim is* less musical and more didactic than *Bang-e-Dara* or *Bal-e-Jibril*, but it is not the dry and sterile work it is sometimes made out to be. The Poet does not give way to the Philosopher–for in Iqbal's mature work the Poet and the Philosopher cannot be told apart–but rather the song of the Poet acquires a new solemnity. *Zarb-e-Kalim*, after all, is a work named after the miracle-performing power of Moses. The time for reflection, for soaring on the wings of Gabriel is over-the time for action has come. The tone is necessarily more martial and matter-of-fact

مری نوا میں نہیں ہے ادائے محبوبی
کہ بانگ صور سرافیل دل نواز نہیں[139]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 59)

The so-called signs of exhaustion may well be the signs of deepening maturity, which, though it lacks the effervescence and buoyancy of youth, impresses with its clarity of vision and inner strength.

ARMAGHAN-E-HIJAZ

Armaghan-e-Hijaz containing Iqbal's work in both Urdu and Persian was published posthumously in November, 1938. The volume is in two parts, the first part (which comprises about three-fourth of the book) is in Persian, and the second part is in Urdu. Here we shall consider only the Urdu section of this volume. This section has thirteen quatrains, besides

other poems the most important of which are “Iblis ki Majlis-e-Shura” and “Mas‘ud Marhum.”

Satanism versus Islam

Broadly speaking “Satanism versus Islam” is the theme of “Iblis ki Majlis-e-Shura,” Iqbal’s last important poem in Urdu. Iqbal shows “Satan’s counsellors anxiously debating the spread of Karl Marx’s message through the world as subversive of the reign of evil.”[140] But Satan remains unmoved and answers

کب ڈرا سکتے ہیں مجھ کو اشتراکی کوچہ گرد
یہ پریشاں روزگار، آشفتہ مغز آشفتہ ہو
ہے اگر مجھ کو خطر کوئی تو اس امت سے ہے
جس کی خاکستر میں ہے اب تک شرار آرزو
خال خال اس قوم میں اب تک نظر آتے ہیں وہ
کرتے ہے اشک سحر گاہی سے جو ظالم وضو
جانتا ہے، جس پہ روشن باطن ایام ہے
مزدکیت فتنۂ فردا نہیں، اسلام ہے[141]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, pp. 223-224)

Satan is aware of the powerlessness and weakness of the Muslims who, sunk deep in inertia and lethargy, have busied themselves in theological hair-splitting and mystical opium-dreams.[142] Nonetheless he is afraid lest “the Prophet’s faded path be rediscovered”[143] and an end be put to all kinds of bondage and exploitation. The real enemy of Satanism “is neither Pharisees nor atheistic communists. The real enemy is Muhammad who preached the terrible revolution in thought and action, the doctrine that the earth belongs not to kings and rulers, but to God.”[144]

Death and Immortality

When Syed Ross Mas‘ud–grandson of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, and a very dear personal friend of Iqbal–died, Iqbal

whose own end was near, was greatly shaken. Like the great elegies of English literature–Milton's "Lycidas," Shelley's "Adonais," and Tennyson's "In Memoriam"–Iqbal's elegy also begins with a questioning of God's purpose in bringing about such a dire event. Then the poem moves from the level of personal grief to a universal vision (such a progression is to be found also in the afore-mentioned elegies from English literature). For a person such as Ross Mas'ud outstanding in so many ways, a man whose mettle has been proven in the battle of life, death is not the end. Here we have perhaps the clearest exposition of Iqbal's doctrine of conditional immortality–immortality belongs only to those who have striven for it. For such immortals as Iqbal's friend, death is but a stage of life

خودی ہے زندہ تو ہے موت اک مقام حیات
کہ عشق موت سے کرتا ہے امتحان ثبات![145]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 245)

Iqbal on Himself

Iqbal was a man too true to his own philosophy of life to indulge in any kind of self-pity. It is seldom that he speaks of the terrible loneliness which clung to him all his life–the inevitable lot of a prophetic poet setting himself against so many popular gods. But Iqbal as a man suffered deeply though this fact hardly finds mention in his biographies. He suffered, as he lived–quietly and alone. Though there were many who listened to him, yet in the sphere of his deepest thoughts and feelings he was almost always without a companion. *Armaghan-e-Hijaz* was written when Iqbal was all but consumed by his fatal illness and inner agony. It has a haunting quality, a pensiveness, which comes through its pages, but this does not soften the spirit of Iqbal's message. Rather it adds to it a kind of poignant urgency. The man has grown old and frail and weary but his songs still breathe fire. We quote the following lines because we can see in them the essential 1qbal–his grief and his courage–when his life was

all but over

غریب شہر ہوں میں، سن تو لے مری فریاد
کہ تیرے سینے میں بھی ہوں قیامتیں آباد
مری نوائے غم آلود ہے متاع عزیز
جہاں میں عام نہیں دولت دل ناشاد
گلہ ہے مجھ کو زمانے کی کور ذوقی سے
سمجھتا ہے مری محنت کو محنت فرہاد
صدائے تیشہ کہ برسنگ میخورد دگر است
خبر بگیر کہ آواز تیشہ و جگر است[146]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, pp. 275-276)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Anand, M. R., "The Poetry of Sir Muhammad Iqbal", *Indian Art and Letters*, London, 1931, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 22.
[2] Touch the strings of this heart-winning instrument as you wend your way, O Traveller, for the heart your language understands.
[3] Singh, I., *The Ardent Pilgrim*, p. 24.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[6] Anand, M. R., *op. cit*, p. 22.
[7] *Stray Reflections*, p. 54.
[8] For you there is no beginning, for you there is no end, your light is not subjected to bondage of First and Last.
[9] Sadiq, M. A., *History of Urdu Literature*, London, 1964, p. 362)
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] The high and the low are equal in your sight, a vision such as yours is what I seek.
[12] You are not aware how knotty problems hurt, gay-coloured Rose perhaps you have no heart.
[13] Sadiq, M. A., *op. cit*, p. 362.
[14] *Ibid.*
[15] Figar, A. E., "Iqbal's Philosophy of Revolution," *The Pakistan Quarterly*, Karachi, 1959, Vol. IX, No. 4, p. 27.
[16] If someone were to ask my heart why tormented I am, (I would say) I am weary of the narrow river's bounds and troubled by my distance from the ocean's wide expanse.
[17] I hear so I may tell the others of what I have heard;
I see so I may show to others that which I have seen
[18] Gibbs, H. A. R., *Modern Trends in Islam*, p. 82.
[19] Vahid, S. A., *Studies in Iqbal*, Lahore, 1967, pp. 103-104.
[20] The Tulip, Narcissus and Rose–each flower some pages picked–for in the Garden everywhere my story lies bestrewn.
[21] Such a flower am I, each flower's autumn is my own.
[22] Beauty is one though it is manifested in all things.
[23] Beauty everlasting may in everything be glimpsed–it is speech in man; it is a sparkle in the bud. Hidden in the many is the secret of the One what is glow in the fire-fly is in the flower its scent.
[24] Those people who have vision, they can see you even here

why should patience be tried then by the Promise of Last Day?
[25] It has some of the ardour of that Ancient Beauty's lover; you are a little Sinai, a little Moses it is.
[26] Yourself the hunter and yourself the victim of the hunt.
[27] *Diwan-e-Ghalib*, Lahore (Taj Company Edition), p. 19.
[28] One thing is object, witness, witnessing
I am wonderstruck what then can 'vision' be?
[29] Stace, W. T., The *Teachings of the Mystics*, New York, 1960, p. 202
[30] Schimmel A. M., "Iqbal and Hallaj", *Mohammad Iqbal*, p. 100.
[31] Death's message to Mansur were lips that spoke; for someone, now, who should his love proclaim?
[32] That which is called life is naught but a forgetfulness, a dream, an unawareness, drunkenness, oblivion. But the spirit lusts for something–something that is lost, else, why, in this desert does it make plaint, like a bell? Restless it is even amid Beauty's open display like a fish that is out of water seems to be its being.
[33] I am desirous of the goal, I have lost my way; O Shama', to the trickery of the eye, I am a prey.
[34] Apparent Beauty does delight my eyes-
my folly really is not less than yours.
[35] Graves R., Introduction to Shah, I., *The Sufis*, New York, 1964, p. x.
[36] May there be in the heart that little spark of fervent
Love,
whose radiance the secret of Reality would reveal.
[37] In Love alone have ailing nations found their remedy,
through it aroused to wakefulness their sleeping destiny.
[38] Maitre, L.C. *Introduction to the Thought of Iqbal* (translated by Dar, M.A.M.), Karachi, 1962, p. I.
[39] Khan, S. A., "A Note on Iqbal", *Indian Art and Letters*, London, 1943, (New Series) Vol. XVII, No. I, p. 72.
[40] Sorley, H.T., *Musa Pervagans*, Aberdeen, 1953, p. 172.
[41] Since in my heart your love has come to dwell my mirror now reflects new attributes.
[42] Love's nature does, in Beauty, find perfection.
[43] Such is the miracle of Unity that if you probe the flower's vein, from it, I am sure, will flow the blood of man.
[44] What has gained consciousness in human beings, sleeps a deep

sleep in trees, in flowers, in animals, in stones and in the stars.
[45] On motion all this world's life hangs
Such is the ancient doom of things.
And there's no loitering on that path,
For hidden in repose lurks death.
(translation by Kiernan, V. G., *Poems for Iqbal, p.* 11.)
[46] Would someone give *IlMakhzan's* Editor this message
from me-the nations *which* are making progress, have no taste
for Art.
[47] The Arab builder made it different from the world at large: a common land is not the basis of our community's bound.
[48] Khan, S.A., "A Note on Iqbal", p. 72.
[49] The time of unveiling has come
The beloved will reveal himself to everyone.
The secret which has so long been veiled in silence,
Shall now be revealed.
Gone is the age of cup-bearers drinking in secret,
The *whole* world shall become a tavern,
And all shall drink.
The ecstatics who have wandered so long
Shall return to dwell in the cities;
Bare-footed as ever they shall be
But they will partake of a new ecstasy.
For the silence of Mecca has proclaimed to the ears of expectancy;
That the convenant which was made with desert-dwellers,
Shall once more be renewed.
The lion which came from the wilderness
And upset the Empire of Rome,
I have heard angels declare
That he shall awaken once more.
(translated by Singh, I., *The Ardent Pilgrim,* p. 74)
[50] Singh, I. *op. cit,* pp. 76-77.
[51] Iqbal, J. Introduction to *Stray Reflections,* p. xviii.
[52] The nightingale of Shiraz mourned for Baghdad; and over Delhi, Dagh wept tears of blood; When Heaven did destroy Granada's splendour Ibn Badrun's woeful heart gave loud lament; To hapless Iqbal your funeral song is granted Fate chose a heart that knew and loved you well.
[53] Khan, S. A., *op. cit*, p. 73.

[54] Arberry, A. J., "Iqbal Day 1955" *Art and Letters.* London, 1955-56, Vol. No. 2, also "Iqbal Day in U.K." *The Pakistan Review,* Lahore, June 1955, Vol. III, No. 6, p. 40.

[55] Singh, I., *op. cit*, p. 60.

[56] Arberry, A. J., "Iqbal Day 1955", p. 60.

[57] Singh, I., *op. cit*, p. 66.

[58] *Ibid*.

[59] We erased the smudges of falsehood from the parchment firmament,
We redeemed the human species from the chains of slavery;
And we filled the Holy Ka'ba with our foreheads humbly bent,
Clutching to our fervent bosoms the Koran in ecstasy.
Yet the charge is laid against us we have played the faithless part;
If disloyal we proved, hast Thou deserved to win our heart?
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *Complaint and Answer,* Lahore, 1961, p. 15).

[60] Forster, E.M., "The Poetry of Iqbal", *The Athenaeum,* Dec. 10, 1920, p. 804.

[61] Schimmel, A.M., *Gabriel's Wing,* p. 41.

[62] Parvez, G. A., cited in Al-Mujahid S., *The Poet of the East,* Karachi 1963, p. 27.

[63] Schimmel, A. M., *op. cit*, p. 41.

[64] Arberry, A. J., Preface to *Complaint and Answer* p. vi.

[65] *Ibid.,* p. vii.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] Vahid, S. A., *Iqbal: His Art and Thought,* p. 12.

[68] That poetry forms part of prophecy–it has been said, then Gabriel's message read to the community's gathering.

[69] Within a community an individual thrives, alone he is nothing;
a wave has existence in a river, outside the river it is nothing.

[70] Faruqi, R. A., "Urdu", *Contemporary Indian Literature,* New Delhi, 1957, p. 109.

[71] Singh, I., *op. cit,* p. 109.

[72] Vahid, S. A., *op. cit,* p. 12.

[73] Fire, Abraham's progeny and Nimrud–all are there, does the Almighty want to put someone to test again?

[74] Recite once more the lesson of Truth, Justice, Fortitude, for the task of leading the world in time will be yours.

[75] Action makes Life a Heaven or a Hell-this clay itself is neither light nor flame.
[76] Open your eyes and in the mirror of my speech and words see a hazy picture of the time that is to come.
[77] Tabbasum, S. G. M., "Iqbal's Contribution to Urdu Literature," *Iqbal Day Speeches*, Lahore, 1954, p. 32.
[78] Schimmel, *A.* M., *Gabriel's Wing*, p. 46.
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] *Ibid.*
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] Iqbal's anthem is like a caravan's bell-once more upon the road our caravan starts.
[83] Khan, S. A., "A Note on Iqbal" p. 71.
[84] Sorley, H. T., *op. cit*, p. 172.
[85] Khan, S. A., *op. cit*, p. 72.
[86] Sorley, H. T., *op. cit*, pp, 171-172.
[87] Das, S, "The Philosophy of Sr. Muhammad Iqbal", *The Indian Review*, Madras, 1938, vol. 30, p. 741.
[88] Farooqi, "The Poetic Art of Iqbal, *Iqbal Review,* October, 1961. Vol. II, No. 3, p. 34.
[89] Kiernan, V. G., *Poems from Iqbal*, p. xii.
[90] McDonough, S, *Vision or Perish*, Washington, D.C, 1966, p. 5
[91] Schimmel, A. M., *Gabriel's Wing* p. 295.
[92] McDonough, S., *Vision or Perish*, p. 6,
[93] *Ibid.*
[94] Here stands his inmost self manifest in your stones,
Fire of passionate days, rapture of melting nights;
Here his high station displayed, here his high-mounting
thoughts,
Here his joy and desire, self-abasement and pride.
As is the Hand of God, so the Believer's hand,
Potent, guided by craft, strong to create and to rule. (translation by Kiernan, V. G., *op. cit*, pp. 39-40).
[95] Iqbal, J., Talk on Muhammad Iqbal, given in Karachi, April, 1966.
[96] Forster, E. M. "Muhammad Iqbal", *Two Cheers for Democracy,* London, 1961, p. 29.
[97] Oh, of what mortal race art Thou the God?
Those creatures formed of dust beneath these heavens?

Europe's pale cheeks are Asia's pantheon,
And Europe's pantheon her glittering metals.
(translation by Kiernan, V. G., *Poems from Iqbal,* p. 42).
[98] Omnipotent, righteous, Thou; but bitter the hours,
Bitter the labourer's chained hours in Thy world.
(translation by Kiernan, V. G., *Poems from Iqbal,* p. 43).
[99] Intellect is still unbridled and Love has no centre yet; your painting, Eternal
Painter, incomplete remains as yet.
[100] Forster, E. M., "Muhammad Iqbal," *op. cit*, p. 298.
[101] Find the field whose harvest is no peasant's daily
bread–Garner in the furnace every ripening ear of wheat!
Banish from the house of God the mumbling priest
whose prayers Like a veil creation from Creator separate!
(translation by Kiernan, V. G., *Poems from Iqbal,* pp. 43-44).
[102] You think that life is a secret, it is merely the desire to soar; many highs
and lows it has witnessed, it prefers journey to the goal.
[103] This is the Self 's first halting-place,
Wayfarer, not your home! It base
Cinder-heap was not your flame's source:
Not you by earth's, earth by your force
Exists.
(translation by Kiernan, V. G., *Poems from Iqbal,* p. 49).
[104] Singh, I. *op. cit*, p. 204.
[105] It is possible to cut the heart of a diamond
With the petal of a flower.
But upon the ignorant man
Tender and delicate utterance is lost.
(translation by Singh, I., *op. cit*, p. 304)
[106] I have seen so many taverns in the East and in the West
wine-servers are absent here and ardourless are drinkers
there!
[107] McDonough, S., *op. cit*, p. 4.
[108] Sorley, H. T., *op. cit*, p. 171.
[109] The night is dark and you are separated from your caravan;
[110] Like an open blazing light for you is my song's flame. Singh, I., *op. cit*, p. 204.
[111] They do not change themselves but they alter the Qur'an how

unresourceful are the scholars of Islamic Law!
[112] Only the strong hand is fit
To guard the creed;
Let no one trust man's native wit
To serve such need.
But that strength, preacher, we shall not
Find your hand muster;
Go, and recite in some cool grot
Your paternoster
And there concoct some new Islam,
Whose mystic kernel
Shall be a tame submissive calm,
Despair eternal
(translation by Kiernan, V.G., *Poems from Iqbal*, pp. 63–64)
[113] The association of nations is commonplace in this age but hidden from the eye remains the oneness of man-
kind! Mecca has to the soil of Geneva this query sent:
What is it to be–League of Nations or humankind?
[114] Though man aspires to find the track of stars that roam in sky and tread, Alas! Man has completely failed to map the world of mind or head.
[115] Not worthy of ado are Life or Death, Selfhood alone is what the Self should seek.
[116] Are you a traveller on Love's Way? No destination accept!
Even if Laila sits in it no palanquin accept!
[117] Creation's picture has its colour due to Woman's
being, it is her melody which gives to life its inner glow;
a handful of her dust exceeds the Pleiades in worth
for all ranks are but gems enshrined in that casket of
jewels. She could not write the dialogues of Plato, nonethe-
less, the spark that Plato was itself came from a woman's
flame.
[118] A thousand fears though there may be, the tongue echoes the heart –this has been the way of God's true seekers from the start.
[119] This controversial matter is one I cannot resolve though I know well
poison this is, that crystal sugar is;
what is the use of saying something and being censured
more (already the sons of culture are rather displeased with me)

This mystery must be unravelled by woman's own insight,
(for men of wisdom seem to be helpless, lacking in power)
which is the greater in adornment and in worth or
price–Woman's emancipation or a neckband made of emeralds?
[120] At women being oppressed I too am very sorrowful!
But this complex knot it is impossible to undo!
[121] Lichtenstadter, I., *Islam and the Modern Age,* p. 131.
[122] *Zarb-e-Kalim,* p. 90.
[123] *Ibid*. p. 95
[124] Sharif, M. M., *About Iqbal and His Thought*, Lahore, 1964, p. 32.
[125] Iqbal's letter to Nicholson, R.A., quoted in the Introduction to *The Secrets of the Self,* p. xxii.
[126] Music, poetry, politics, learning, religion, art,
have in their core embedded pearls each one beyond
compare;
if Selfhood they safeguard then they are the fountain
of Life,
if this they cannot do, they are sheer sorcery and tales.
[127] If you perceive the world through your own sight,
the heaven would be aglow with your dawn's light.
[128] He alone can overcome the revolution of Time
who can create eternal life from each and every
breath!
[129] Slavery, slavishness, the root of our
Disease; of theirs, that Demos holds all power; Heart-malady or brain-malady has oppressed
Man's whole world, sparing neither East nor West. (translation by Kiernan, V.G., *op. cit.*, p. 78)
[130] With the smoke of machines, the European's lands are
dark–
This valley of Sinai does not deserve the light of God!
[131] You have plundered tents of nomads of the little
wealth they own,
You have plundered peasant ploughlands, you have
plundered crown and throne,
And that looting and that killing in a civilizing way,
Yesterday you, defended! I defend it now today!
(translation by Kiernan, V.G., *op. cit.*, p. 76.)

[132] Your Selfhood recognise.
[133] If a revolution takes place in your inmost Self,
No wonder it will be, then, if the whole world alters too.
[134] Singh, I., *op. cit.*, p. 204.
[135] Sadiq, M, *A History of Urdu Literature*, p. 386.
[136] Farooqi, M. A., "The Poetic Art of Iqbal", *Iqbal Review*, p. 34.
[137] Kiernan, V. G., Preface to *Poems from Iqbal*, p. xii.
[138] Sorley, H. T., *op. cit.*, p. 171.
[139] The charming airs of Love are not found in my melody for the sounding of Israfil's trumpet does not please the heart.
[140] Kiernan, V. G., Preface to *op. cit.*, p. xxxi.
[141] I be afraid of socialists? street-bawlers, ragged things, tortured brains, tormented souls!
No, if there is one monster in my path it lurks within the people in whose ashes still glow the embers of an infinite hope.
Even yet, scattered among then, steadfast ones come forth who make lustrations of their hearts with contrite tears in the pure hour of dawn;
And he to whom the anatomy of the age shows clear knows well, the canker of to-morrow is not your communism: it is Islam. (translation by Kiernan, V. G., *op. cit.*, p. 83)
[142] Schimmel, A. M., "The Figure of Satan in the Works of Muhammad Iqbal" (consulted in the manuscript by the courtesy of the author).
[143] Kiernan, V. G., *op. cit.*, p. 83.
[144] Hamid, K. A., "Remarks on the Development of Iqbal's Poetic Thought", in *Poems of Iqbal* (translated by Kiernan, V. G.), Bombay, 1947, p. 127.
[145] If Selfhood is alive then death is but a stage of life, for Love puts durability to test by means of death.
[146] I walk lonely the earth; hear my lament,
And in your breast too may these whirlwinds flame.
My grief-stained songs are precious dower; such wealth
As sad thoughts hive is rare in our world. I blame
The age for its dull wit, imagining
My labour and Farhad's long toil the same;
"Far different is the noise of axe on rocks
Listen! at my own heart the keen blade knocks."
(translated by Kiernan, V. G., *op. cit.*, p. 91).

PERSIAN POETICAL WORKS

ASRAR-E-KHUDI

Asrar-e-Khudi was published in 1915 and its publication was a great event. It was a daring work which aimed to purge the world of Islam of all that was impure, meretricious and alien–the false and delusive metaphysics which overlaid the core of the Qur'anic teaching, destroying the health and vitality of the Muslim people.[1]

Rumi as Iqbal's Guide

In the Prologue, Iqbal tells how Rumi appeared to him in a vision and asked him to "become familiar with the delight of singing."[2] Iqbal was prompted in his choice of the great mystic poet as his spiritual guide "by an inner necessity and sense of identity of spiritual purposes… He, too, saw as his main mission in life the exposition of the 'prophetic revelation.'"[3] Rumi was to remain Iqbal's mentor throughout his subsequent works. Iqbal acknowledges his debt to him with reverence

باز بر خوانم ز فیض پیر روم
دفتر سر بسته اسرار علوم
جان او از شعله ها سرمایه دار
من فروغ یک نفس مثل شرار
پیر رومی خاک را اکسیر کرد
از غبارم جلوه ها تعمیر کرد[4]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, pp. 7-8)

The Aim of *Asrar-e-Khudi*

When Iqbal wrote this "Masnawi" he had become fully conscious of his mission. He was to be an awakener, a revealer of the secrets of reality. He "comes forward as an apostle, if not to his own age, then to posterity:"[5]

نغمه ام از زخمه بے پرواستم
من نوائے شاعر فرداستم[6]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 5)

The Poet's song is "of another world"[7] the world of eternity, of everlasting verities and values–and the Poet prays that he should be liberated from the consciousness of serial time:

ساقیا برخیز و مے در جام کن
محو از دل کاوش ایام کن[8]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 6)

Iqbal did not believe in 'art for art's sake' and he makes it clear that the aim of his poem is not mere versifying or pleasing the reader by having created a work of beauty:

شاعری زیں مثنوی مقصود نیست
بت پرستی بت گری مقصود نیست[9]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 11)

The Self is the Fundamental Reality of the World

The opening section of *Asrar-e-Khudi* seeks to show that the system of the universe originates in the Self. All life is individual,[10] and the power that each thing has is in proportion to the extent to which it preserves its identity:

چوں زمیں برہستئی خود محکم است
ماہ پابند طواف پیہم است[11]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 15)

Desire

The second section of *Asrar-e-Khudi* seeks to show that the Self derives its life and potency from having ideals and

striving constantly to achieve them.

هستئی مہر از زمیں محکم تر است
پس زمیں مسحور چشم خاور است[12]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 16)

Since desire is that which preserves life, the Poet would have every true believer become "a flaming Sinai, a mountain crested with fire bent on burning into ashes everything that is not God."[13] To one who has not yet learned the "secrets" of the Self, the Poet says:

زندگانی رابقا از مدعاست
کاروانش را درا از مدعاست[14]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 18)

A writer aptly observes, "Philosophically speaking, perhaps, the most significant idea in *Asrar* was Iqbal's affirmation of 'desire' as the ultimate urgency and compulsion underlying the forward movement of life."[15]

Love

The third section of *Asrar-e-Khudi* seeks to show that the Self is strengthened by Love. Love makes the self "more living, more burning, more glowing,"[16] and gives to the lover the 'inner' sight which makes him see that which is hidden from the intellect

چشم در کشت محبت کاشتم
از تماشا حاصلے برداشتم[17]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 22)

Su'al

The fourth section states that the Self is weakened by *su'al* or asking. To crave anyone's favour or to live off the bounty of others is to sell one's manhood cheap. He who has nothing, but who owes nothing to anyone and makes his own living, is richer than he, who has everything, but who cannot hold his head high because he has exchanged his dignity for

material gain. Iqbal says:

اے خنک آں تشنہ کاندر آفتاب
می نخواهد از خضر یک جام آب
تر جبیں از خجلت سائل نشد
شکل آدم ماند و مشت گل نشد
زیر گردوں آن جوان ارجمند
می رود مثل صنوبر سر بلند
در تہی دستی شود خوددار تر
بخت او خوابید و او بیدار تر[18]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, pp. 25-26)

Love means Dominion

In section five Iqbal narrates the story of the saint Shaikh Sharafuddin of Panipat (also known as Bu 'Ali Qalandar) who was feared by kings because he had "access to God."[19] When the Self becomes strengthened by Love, then it gains dominion over the outward and inward forces of the universe. Iqbal says:

از محبت چوں خودی محکم شود
قوتش فرمانده عالم شود
پنجۂ او پنجۂ حق می شود
ماه از انگشت او شق می شود[20]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, pp. 26–27)

Rejection of the Doctrine of 'Vegetarianism'

In the next section there is a parable of sheep and tigers, the moral of which is that negation of the Self is a doctrine invented by subject races of mankind in order that by this mean they weaken the character of their masters. Iqbal tells us to be fearful "of those sheep who, fearing our claws, come forward with the doctrine of vegetarianism."[21] The "wakeful

tiger" when he has been "lulled to slumber" called his decline "Moral Culture."[22] But such culture, Iqbal urges, is to be shunned because it consists of "those forms of conduct which lead to the extinction of the '1' as a metaphysical force."[23]

Attack on Platonism

In section seven, Iqbal attacks Plato who "followed the sheep's doctrine."[24] He exalted reason at the expense of the senses. Plato's philosophy (which had considerable influence on a number of Sufis) placed greater emphasis on Ideas and Forms than on deeds. It engendered contempt for the real world, and encouraged an attitude of renunciation and self-negation. For Iqbal the world beloved of Plato was a world of death–a world meant only for those who had no zest for life and action.

زنده جاں را عالم امکاں خوش است
مرده دل را عالم اعیاں خوش است[25]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 35)

Nature and Function of Art

The next section contains most of Iqbal's ideas on the nature and function of Art. Beauty creates desire and makes the Poet's heart burn with restlessness The Poet is the prototype of the eternal lover and Nature's charms are enhanced through his passion. He gives to Life the urge to grow:

از فریب او خود افزا زندگی
خود حساب و ناشکیبا زندگی[26]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 38)

A poet who "turns away from the joy of living"[27] is a curse for a whole nation because he makes the struggle of life seem futile and meaningless.

نغمه ہائیش از دلت دزدد ثبات
مرگ را از سحر او دانی حیات[28]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, P. 39)

In Iqbal's poetry there is no place for wailing or weakness. Love makes a person hard not soft. And so, says the Poet, for the Muslims it is necessary to return from the languorous ease of Persia and Greece to the torrid sublimity of the Arabian desert. "The *Asrar*", observes a writer, "is essentially the imaginative story of this philosophic return."[29]

The Stages of the Development of the Self

The ninth section of *Asrar-e-Khudi* points out that the education of the Self passes from the initial stage of Obedience to the Law, through the stage of Self-Control when the individual can govern himself, to the Vicegerency of God.

The Perfect Man as a Reformer

In the next section, speaking of one of Islam's greatest warriors, Iqbal says that men of action "dig up the foundations of the world," "subvert the course of Time" and "wreck the azure firmament" in order to create a new world.[30] This does not mean that Iqbal's Perfect Man is to be a blood-thirsty, anarchic conqueror who destroys the world just to please himself, but a reformer who destroys only "effete institutions and degenerate traditions."[31]

Doctrine of Power

Iqbal's words that Life has only one law that is that of power[32] are undoubtedly reminiscent of Neitzsche. However, it is to be pointed out that by "power" Iqbal does not mean "brute force," but "the power of the spirit."[33] One must be on one's guard against forces of disintegration which appear in many guises and seek to rob the Self of its strength. Since Life is "power made manifest,"[34] he who lacks power lives an empty and meaningless life and cannot understand the secrets of the Self.

زندگی کشت است و حاصل قوت است
شرح رمز حق و باطل قوت است[35]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 56)

Doctrine of Hardness

In section eleven the saint 'Ali Hujwiri expounds the benefits of having enemies–they contribute towards the "hardening" of the Self. This theme is carried over into the next two sections which deal with two parables–one, of the diamond and the dewdrop, and the second, of the diamond and the coal. Iqbal's doctrine of hardness goes beyond Nietzsche's in its spiritual implications, but there is hardly any doubt that in these sections Iqbal was greatly influenced by the German Philosopher.

The Value of Tradition

The purpose of section fourteen is to state that the continuation of social life depends on firm attachments to the characteristic traditions of the community. Whatever one's faith, one must be true to it. Here, we see a glimpse of Iqbal's surprising breadth of vision and tolerance when he says:

من نگویم از بتاں بیزار شو
کافری شائستہ زنار شو
اے امانت دار تہذیب کہن
پشت پا بر مسلک آبا مزن
گر ز جمعیت حیات ملت است
کفر ہم سرمایۂ جمعیت است
تو کہ ہم در کافری کامل نۂ
در خور طوف حریم دل نۂ[36]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 66)

Jihad

In section fifteen, Iqbal tells the story of the saint Mian Mir Wali and Shahjahan, the Moghal Emperor, which is designed to show that war is permissible only "if its object is God."[37] War, if prompted by land-hunger or any other motive, is unlawful.

Love Brings True Enlightenment

In the next section Iqbal tells the famous story of Rumi and Shams-e-Tabriz to show that it is Love alone "that heals the sicknesses of the mind"[38] and brings true enlightenment.

Concept of Time

The seventeenth section contains Iqbal's concept of Time which is in opposition to the Platonic, Sufi and Vedantist attitude to Time.[39] "The world of Time is not to be regarded as a world of shadows signifying nothing, a play of illusion on the edge of a void as the Hindu mystagogues had preached. Time is real and Time is important."[40] Time is not to be pictured as a straight line or as succession. It is here pictured as a sword and becomes the symbol of eternity and God's power. The true believer's being is timeless. He sinks into his inner being and knows that his Time "has neither beginning nor end."[41]

The Poet's Prayer

Asrar-e-Khudi ends with an Invocation in which the Poet prays for "the sleepless eye and the passionate heart," and "the strong faith of Abraham;" he also prays for "one old comrade" who could be "the mirror of mine, all-burning Love."[42] Iqbal knew when he wrote this *Masnawi* that the mission he had undertaken to fulfil was one which involved not only great difficulties but also great loneliness.

***Asrar-e-Khudi*: Scope and Significance**

The scope of the poem can be aptly described in words which Professor Nichol-son uses to describe Rumi's *Masnawi-e-Ma'nawi.* "Its author professes, indeed, to expound the inmost sense of the prophetic revelation; but any one looking through the work at random can see that its doctrines, interwoven with apologues, anecdotes, fables, legends and traditions, range over the whole domain of... religious life and thought...The *Masnawi* shows him as an eloquent and enthusiastic teacher explaining the way to God for the benefit of those who have entered upon it."[43]

In *Asrar-e-Khudi*, Iqbal has attempted to "affect the marriage, not only of poetry and philosophy but also of Eastern

mysticism and Western realism."[44] It is one of the most striking attempts ever made to present a vigorous philosophy in the garb of poetry. In the words of Herbert Read, it is "a poem that crystallizes in its beauty the most essential phases of modern Philosophy, making a unity of faith out of its multiplicity of ideas, a universal aspiration out of the esoteric logic of the schools."[45] It threads together the hard products of metaphysical speculation in such a way that they no longer remain the bare stuff logic is made of "but assume all the brightest and most glowing hues of flowers in a beautiful garden."[46]

It is a matter of some debate whether the primary appeal of *Asrar-e-Khudi* is to the head or to the heart. Professor Nicholson comments, "He (Iqbal) is no mean poet, and his verse can rouse or persuade even if his logic fails to convince."[47] While acknowledging that the substance of *Asrar-e-Khudi* "is striking enough to command attention," in Professor Nicholson's view, the poem "wins the heart before taking possession of the mind."[48]

Although this poem is probably the most purely philosophical of all Iqbal's poetical works, yet one can also support Iqbal Singh's view that it is "the record of an imaginative flight into the realm of ideas, an audacious trajectory of thought which crosses from one mental height to another without giving us an opportunity of exploring the intervening valleys and abysses. The process of flight itself is so satisfying, so breath-taking that we are inclined to forget or overlook the dangers and hazards that lie at the root of these eminences of thought."[49]

The message of *Asrar-e-Khudi* became the focal point of all Iqbal's teachings. In it he laid the foundations of a new philosophy of life based on a new kind of mysticism–that of struggle).[50] In prophetic tones he described the potency of certain ideals which could rejuvenate a degenerate society and lead to the production of a Perfect Man by a vigorous training of the human faculties.[51] *Asrar-e-Khudi* is a poem "with conviction as its basis and action as its goal...It is almost martial."[52] The Poet sings with power. He sows a

verse and reaps a sword. His song is tempered with fire–the mid-day heat of Arabia and the wine of the desert. The poem leaves us with an impression of sheer strength and vitality. It is indeed like a sword–each syllable stabs.[53]

All great works of art and literature have both particular and universal import. As a writer points out, *Asrar-e-Khudi* "succeeded at some strange and luminous points to capture the Zeitgeist, the spirit if not of the time, at any rate, of the milieu in which Iqbal lived and moved."[54] It is true that Iqbal's philosophy of action as laid out with power and skill in *Asrar-e-Khudi* was rooted, to some extent, in "the necessity of modern times as it presented itself to the particular group to which he belonged. In Iqbal, Sir Saiyed's ideas were to become mature and grave."[55] However, though one of the purposes of Iqbal's poem was to tell the Muslims "to get going," it was, by no means, its only purpose. Despite its topical significance *Asrar-e-Khudi* also belongs to world poetry which is meant for all times and for all climes.[56] Though primarily addressed to the Muslims, the teaching that it embodies–that life is action, that perfection may be attained only through struggle, that without passion life lacks power and meaning–goes far beyond the limitations of caste and creed, and it is a non-Muslim who asks, "Who can read this soul-stirring poem unmoved?"[57]

Asrar-e-Khudi bears the impact of many Western thinkers, Nietzsche and Bergson in particular. Its philosophy owes very little to Neo-Platonists or their Eastern successors.[58] The repudiation of Greek thought logically led to a rejection of Sufism which was indebted for much of its doctrinal basis to Plato, on the one hand, and to the Vedanta of the Hindus on the other. "Its pantheism, its leaning towards passivity and quietism–these were in sharp contradiction with the philosophy of action embodied in the Qur'an."[59] Iqbal's statement, "I claim that the philosophy of the *Asrar* is a direct development out of the experience and speculation of old Muslim sufis and thinkers"[60] comes rather as a surprise in view of his repeated attacks on Sufism. However, it is to be remembered that Iqbal did not reject "the more genuine

schools of Sufism"[61] and that for him "the great sufis of old...have become models of piety, and their names are used invariably as similes of spiritual power, and true poverty"; he also had "deep veneration and admiration ...for the generations of great practical mystics thanks to whom India had become partly Islamised."[62]

Although *Asrar-e-Khudi* bears the influence of various thinkers–Western and Eastern–the total work is refreshingly original. Professor Browne observes, "It is a sufficient testimony to the originality of the surprising philosophical doctrine embodied in this poem that Dr. Nicholson, the greatest living authority on the Sufi mysticism to which it stands in such violent antagonism should have deemed it worth translating and explaining."[63]

Asrar-e-Khudi is written in the *masnawi* form which, with its basic unit consisting of the rhymed couplet and an elastic structure, has always been considered a suitable medium for long and discursive arguments in poetry. This verse form permits of "a wide range of variation of rhythm and cadence of theme and motif, within the unity of framework provided by a general idea."[64]

The poem has "dull and pedestrian passages," where "the didactic takes supremacy over the imaginative," but these passages are not numerous and are more than atoned for by "moments of purest inspiration where the utterance and the image has the hard radiance of a flawless diamond."[65] As remarked by Professor Nicholson, "the artistic quality of the poem is ramarkable when we consider that its language is not the author's own."[66] He finds its style "at once elevated and charming."[67]

RUMUZ-E-BEKHUDI

Asrar-e-Khudi deals with the problem of the integration and development of the individual; its counterpart *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi is* concerned with the role of the individual in a

community, and forms the basis of Iqbal's social and political philosophy. This poem is dedicated to the Muslim community and begins with the Poet's prayer that the dead spirit of the Muslims be resurrected, and that hearing his "fierce lamenting" they should wake up from their "drunken slumber."[68]

The Individual and Society

In the Prelude the Poet speaks of the bond between the individual and the community. The individual finds his true fulfillment only in society; hence the individual must "lose" himself in the community

فرد تا اندر جماعت گم شود
قطرۂ وسعت طلب قلزم شود[69]

(*Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, p. 98)

The image of the drop "losing" its identity in the ocean is startling. It seems to run contrary to the theme of earlier poems where it is stressed that the individual absorbs all things into himself. It is probable that Iqbal is here thinking in terms of "the amplification of the individual will through identification with the collective will."[70]

A self-fortified individual is not conceived by Iqbal to be an isolated creature living only for himself. Such an individual is wrapped up in selfishness and an inward-looking, self-centered narcissism. A person who has no interest beyond himself cannot but be "heedless of high purposes."[71] A life of purpose is a life of wide and outward-looking affections and interests which frees the human soul from the shackles of self-regarding ideals. Iqbal wishes to differentiate between being an individual and being selfish. Individuality, as Iqbal understood it, "does not exist as a value apart from its relation to God, to other persons and to human society. Personality must come out of itself, because narrow self-centeredness ruins personality."[72] Furthermore, as Professor Arberry points out, "it is obvious that the Iqbalian conception of Selfhood developed in isolation from society ends in unmitigated egoism and anarchy."[73]

The Importance of *Tauhid*

The belief in the Oneness of God is the basic foundation of Islam. Divine Unity becomes a formative factor in the unity of mankind. From *Tauhid* Iqbal derives the principles of Muslim brotherhood (illustrated by the story of 'Ubaid and Jaban), Muslim equality (illustrated by the story of Sultan Murad and the architect) and Muslim freedom (illustrated by the story of Hussain's martyrdom).[74] Belief in God's Unity frees Man from despair, grief and fear which are the sources of all evil and destroyers of life.[75]

The Role and Importance of the Prophet

Since an individual cannot exist as a self-contained unit; he must live in communion with other men. But an ideal society is not just a number of people living in close proximity to each other. It comes into existence when God "discovers a man pure of heart," a Prophet who "weaves all together Life's dissevered parts."[76] He is great teacher who leads his people through the various stages of their character-training to the attainment of the final objective: the Vicegerency of God.

In the Introduction to the first edition *of Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, Iqbal said that "the secret of the life of nations and people depends on the development, preservation and consolidation of the communal ego."[77] The development of the communal ego in an Islamic society, in turn, depends on the acceptance of the validity of two propositions–"that God is one, and that Muhammad (p.b.u.h) is the last in the line of those distinctly-inspired men who have appeared from time to time in all countries and all ages for guiding mankind to the right way of living."[78] Thus, apart from the Unity of God, the Islamic *Millat* bases its solidarity on the person and teachings of the Prophet.

The Country is not the Foundation of the Islamic *Millat*

This is one of the most significant ideas in Iqbal's socio-political philosophy. The Prophet's migration from Mecca to

Medina also signifies that the Muslim is not to bind his heart to a piece of land. Iqbal does not tire of repeating that the whole world is the Muslim's homeland.

مسلم استی دل با قلیمے مبند
گم مشو اندر جہان چون و چند
می نگنجد مسلم اندر مرز و بوم
در دل اویا وہ گردد شام و روم[79]

(*Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, pp. 130-131)

The Importance of Divine Law

A nation lives "by guarding ancient laws" and dies "when it forsakes the purpose of its life."[80] Iqbal contends that the Islamic *Miilillat* cannot die because it "maintains its ancient forms"[81] and observes the Law. For Iqbal, "*Shari'a* is the secret of Islam, the alpha and omega of everything,"[82] and he joins it organically with the Philosophy of the Self, since it is "the commentary on Life's law."[83] The Law of Islam is embodied in the Qur'an. Iqbal ascribes social and religious evil "to the sad truth that the injunctions of the Qur'an have fallen into oblivion that the mystics, instead of reciting the holy verses, prefer listening to the seducing songs of 'Iraqi which intoxicating musicians play."[84] The power of Islam is lost in the ritual of mysticism. To hear the Qur'an from the pulpit is not enough. Iqbal says:

از تلاوت بر تو حق دارد کتاب
تو ازو کامے کہ می خواهی بیاب[85]

(*Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, p. 143)

Iqbal's cry of "Back to the Qur'an", heard so clearly here, resounds throughout his works. For Iqbal, God's revelation "contains the pulsehood and lifehood for the body of nations."[86] He points out that the Jewish people by clinging faithfully to the law of Moses though "heaven's grip hath pressed and squeezed their grape,"[87] have survived as a nation. For the continuance and growth of the Islamic *Mille*, it

is necessary that the Law of Islam be preserved and followed. The Qur'an thus "becomes the *'a'in*,' the inward law and the outward form, of the Muhammedan community."[88]

The Importance of Mecca and the *Ka'ba*

Iqbal regards the *Ka'ba* as the symbol of Muslim unity. The whole *Masnawi* is impressed with the idea that Mecca is the visible focus of the Islamic community.[89] Hunting is forbidden inside the limits of Mecca and so Iqbal describes it as a "sanctuary." If the Muslims would dwell within it, *i.e.* if they would follow the Islamic way of life, "they would live as secure as a gazelle inside the asylum."[90]

The Importance of the World of Matter

According to Iqbal the world of matter is real and important. It is not to be dismissed or despised. Since "all otherness is only to subdue,"[91] the not-Self is a challenge to the Self. The material world is not an evil entity for luring men away from the path of virtue. It is rather the reward given to those who regard Nature "as the Scholar's slate on which the Man of Vision learns to read."[92]

حق جہاں را قسمت نیکاں شمرد
جلوہ اش با دیدۂ مومن سپرد[93]

(*Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, p. 165)

The Importance of History

According to Iqbal a nation becomes self-aware when it knows its past history and the link that connects the past with the present. Memory is one of the most important means by which personal identity is established; a nation that does not know its history–which is the repository of events recorded and remembered–cannot feel secure about its identity

چیست تاریخ اے ز خود بیگانۂ
داستانے قصۂ افسانہ؟
ایں ترا از خویشتن آگہ کند

آشنائے کار و مرد رہ کند
روح را سرمایۂ تاب است این
جسم ملت راچو اعصاب است ایں[94]

(*Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, p. 172)

The Importance of Motherhood

Iqbal likens motherhood to prophethood.

نیک اگر بینی امومت رحمت است
ز انکه او را بانبوت نسبت است
شفقت او شفقت پیغمبر است
سیرت اقوام را صورتگر است
از امومت پختہ تر تعمیر ما
درخط سیمائے او تقدیر ما[95]

(*Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, p. 174)

The ideal Muslim woman who gives birth to children "zealous for the faith", is contrasted with the Westernized woman who is described as if "in outward guise a woman, inwardly no woman she."[96] This is an extreme and harsh view. Without meaning to detract anything from what Iqbal has to say in praise of Motherhood, it must be observed that most Muslim women of today no longer think that motherhood is the sole purpose of their existence. There is a tendency in the thought of many Muslim thinkers, including Iqbal, to regard women only in the context of their various relationships *e.g.* as daughters, wives and mothers, and not as individuals who exist also in their own right.

Iqbal and *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*

Iqbal gives as a summary of the poem, a commentary on Sura CXII, entitled *Al-Tauhid*, exhorting the Muslim to translate into practical terms the philosophical implications flowing from God's Unity and Self-Subsistence. The poem ends with a living memorial to the Prophet of Islam. *Rumuz-*

e-Bekhudi has been aptly described as "the treasure-house of Iqbal's prophetology."[97] Iqbal's love for the Prophet shines through its lines. He confesses before the Prophet that he had wandered for long in "Philosophy's conjecture-land"[98] when he was shown the way to faith by the Prophet's love. Iqbal attacks the soporific mysticism of Persia and longs for a return to Hijaz. He claims that his Philosophy is derived from the Qur'an. If it is not, says Iqbal to the Prophet of Islam, then "disgrace me on the Day of Reckoning.[99]

The Aim of *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*

In *Rumuz-e-Bekhdudi* Iqbal pursues the theme of *Asrar-e-Khudi* at another level, *Bekhudi* being the corollary of the concept of *Khudi* Iqbal makes the individual and the community inter-dependent. It is as a member of the ideal community "that the individual, by the twain principles of conflict and concord, is able to express himself fully and ideally; it is only as an association of self-affirming individuals that the community can come into being and perfect itself."[100] Thus Iqbal escapes from libertarianism by making the individual a member of a homogeneous society and limiting his freedom and from totalitarianism by limiting the power of the community or the country "making it a challenge and not an insurmountable obstacle to the individual's self-realization."[101]

From *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, a poem dedicated to the Muslims, "it is easy to get the impression that Iqbal, by means of his philosophical theory of individuality and community, is trying to show "that Islam is superior to all other creeds and systems."[102] Iqbal himself, however, insisted that his ideal was universal and not particular. He stated his position quite clearly in a letter to Professor Nicholson. He said, "The humanitarian ideal is always universal in poetry and philosophy, but if you make it an effective ideal and work it out in actual life, you must start...with a society exclusive in the sense of having a creed and a well-defined outline, but ever enlarging its limit by example and persuasion; such a

society, according to my belief, is Islam, The object of my Persian poems is not to make out a case for Islam, my aim is simply to discover a universal reconstruction, and in this endeavour, I find it philosophically impossible to ignore a social system which exists with the express object of doing away with all the distinctions of caste, rank and race; and which, while keeping a watchful eye on the affairs of this world, fosters a spirit of unwieldiness so absolutely essential to man in his relations with his neighbors."[103]

PAYAM-E-MASHRIQ

Payam-e-Mashriq was first published in 1923, and dedicated to the King of Afghanistan, Amir Aman Ullah Khan who abdicated in 1929. Iqbal had placed high hopes on this young and progressive but ill-fated monarch. This volume was inspired by Goethe's *West-Oestlicher Divan. Payam-e-Mashriq* resembles the *Divan* in form–both contain short poems arranged in sections which bear separate titles, and a general motive. But there is no correspondence as regards the subject matter. "Madchan Und Dichter" and "Mahomet's Gesang" are the only poems of Goethe (and which do not belong to the *Divan)* which are directly imitated.[104]

Part I

Lala-e-Tur

The first part of *Payam-e-Mashriq* is entitled Lala-e-Tur' (The 'Talip of Sina'i) and consists of one hundred and thirty three quatrains. It contains the core of Iqbal's message. The Tulip is a symbol of Love, and the Tulip of Sina'i becomes emblematic of both human and divine love.

The Idea of Egohood

This is a common theme in the Quatrains. Eor instance, Iqbal says:

زمن گو صوفیان باصفا را
خدا جویان معنی آشنا را
غلام ہمت آں خود پرستم
که با نور خودی بیند خدا را[105]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 75)

Denunciation of Intolerance and *Nasab-parasti*

A man of passionate convictions, Iqbal yet always believed in tolerance. Tolerance is one of the qualities of his Perfect Man, and to one who shows signs of contempt and intolerance he gives the stern–and somewhat startling–rebuke

مرنج از برہمن اے واعظ شہر
گر از ما سجدۂ پیش بتاں خواست
خدائے ما که خود صورتگری کرد
بتے را سجدۂ از قدسیاں خواست[106]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 70)

To the Muslims Iqbal always said that they must not indulge in *nasab-parasti*. To the Arab proud of his blood, he says:

برنگ احمر و خون و رگ و پوست
عرب نازد اگر ترک عرب کن[107]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 52)

The Distinctive Features of "Lala-e-Tur"

In "Lala-e-Tur" Iqbal emerges as a *ruba'i*–poet of undisputed merit. Professor Arberry observes that "Lala-e-Tur" contains "some poetry of a very high order, and is certainly in the first rank of modern Persian literature."[108] Reading the quatrains one is "haunted by the feeling that there are lines in it which are of immortal stuff."[109]

But perhaps the most striking feature of these quatrains is one remarked upon by Iqbal Singh–"a sense of unresolved

emotional and intellectual conflict...the intimation of Iqbal's quarrel with himself is unmistakable, and it is this quarrel, this inward conflict, which invests his verses with that quality of sustaining and sustained tension which is of the very essence of poetry."[110]

The mystic element is very strong in the quatrains and it is true "that there is scarcely anything in the circle of quatrains... which could not be reconciled with and even directly related to, mystical conceptions and their variants"[111]

This is surprising after Iqbal's attacks on *sufism* in *Asrar-e-Khudi*, but it is to be pointed out that although Iqbal considered necessary for his purposes to denounce certain 'negative' elements of *sufism*, he remained in many ways, as "Lala-e-Tur" (and much of his other poetry) shows, very close to the mystic tradition.

Part II

Afkar

The second part of *Payam-e-Mashriq* is entitled *Afkar* (Thoughts) consisting of a series of unrelated poems.

The Quest of Life:

In a number of poems in this part, Iqbal speaks of man's life–its evolution, development and destiny. In "Taskhir-e-Fitrat" (The Conquest of Nature) Iqbal describes the birth of Adam–the aim and achievement of the evolutionary process.

In "Hudi" (the Cameleer)–a poem of great lyrical beauty– Iqbal likens the journey of a camel through the desert to the journey of man's life. What the camel is to the cameleer, man is to God–the relationship between them is one of mutual love and need. The refrain of the poem brims with hope and acts as a spur to the weary but determined dromedary

تیز ترک گامزن منزل ما دور نیست[112]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, pp. 126–129)

In another well-known poem "Sarod-e-Anjum" (The Song of the Stars) the heavenly bodies comment on the life of

man who is capable of both greatness and pettiness. Without getting absorbed in vanishing delights and passing glories, the celestial spheres pursue their courses. But as we saw in *Bang-e-Dara*, though Iqbal praises Nature for not being subject to human mutability and infirmity, at the same time he holds Nature up to scorn for being indifferent. In this poem too, the detachment of the stars–embodied in the refrain

مے نگریم و مے رویم[113]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, pp. 112–115)

is contrasted with the suffering of men "quivering in misery and pain.[114]

In "Hur-o-Sha'ir" (Houri and Poet) Iqbal points out that the Quest of Man does not end even in Paradise. The Poet–symbol of the eternal lover–cannot remain for long even in the company of the enchanting Houri, because

سر منزلے ندارم کہ بمیرم از قرارے[115]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 149)

Knowledge and Love: **The contrast between "'Ishq" and " 'Ilm"** which is perhaps the most common theme in Iqbal's poetry, is repeated in a dialogue between Knowledge and Love, with some difference from Iqbal's usual approach. '*Ishq* speaks to '*Ilm* with kindly wisdom making an offer of friendship to the Intellect which, though born "in divine seclusion,"[116] has become corrupted through association with Satan. '*Ishq*–and here it is undoubtedly Iqbal's own voice–says

بیا یک ذرہ از درد دلم گیر
تہ گردوں بہشت جاوداں ساز
ز روز آفرینش ہمدم استیم
ہماں یک نغمہ را زیر و بم استیم[117]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 112)

The joining of '*Ishq* and '*Ilm* is, for Iqbal, the perfection of life.

Good and Evil

In "Taskhir-e-Fitrat" we see Satan's temptation of Adam leading to the discovery of a new world and the ultimate conquest of Nature. In Iqbal's thought, as in Goethe's, good and evil are inter-dependent.[118] Satan is the principle of evil, yet without him good cannot come into existence. Iqbal brings out the relationship between good and evil in a concise but profound poem entitled "Zindagi" (Life)

پرسیدم از بلند نگاهے حیات چیست
گفتامئے که تلخ تر او نکوتر است
گفتم که کرمک است و ز گل سربروں زند
گفتا که شعله زاد مثال سمندر است
گفتم که شر بفطرت خامش نهاده اند
گفتا که خیر او نشناسی همیں شر است
گفتم که شوق سیر نبردش به منزلے
گفتا که منزلش به همیں شوق مضمر است
گفتم که خاکی است و بخاکش همی دهند
گفتا چو دانه خاک شگافد گل تر است[119]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, pp, 145-146)

Part III

Mai-e-Baqi

The third part of *Payam-e-Mashriq* is entitled **"Mai-e-Baqi"** (The Residuary Wine) and is a collection of 'ghazals' written in the style of old masters such as Sa'di, Naziri, 'Urfi and Ghalib. One scholar observes that in *Payam-e-Mashriq* the 'ghazal,' as an art-form emerges with a new spirit.[120] "It remains a nosegay; each flower is distinctly different; the binding strand is of another texture. The harmony is still of mood and attitude and not of logic. But whereas in Hafiz and other 'ghazalists' of the past, the

senses 'swoon' and 'the reader's heart grows faint,' Iqbal's 'ghazal' awakens the mind to action. The old form is revived by new contents, new themes and motifs. Even the old symbols have been revitalized. The rose and the nightingale, the tavern and the *saqi*, the hunter and the gazelle, are the same in name but different in significance. Iqbal has thus transmuted the whole of our poetry. He has given it new meanings."[121] He has given expression in the 'ghazal' to his finest lyricism

کو آں نگاہ ناز کہ اول دلم ربود
عمرت دراز باد هماں یترم آرزو ست[122]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 186)

as well as his most philosophical thought,

صورت نہ پرستم من، بتخانہ شکستم من
آں سیل سبک سیرم، ہربند گستم من
در بود و نبود من اندیشہ گما نہا داشت
از عشق ہویدا شد، ایں نکتہ کہ ہستم من[123]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 179)

which point, firstly, at the mystic quest for the essence which lies beyond the anthropomorphic conception of God; and secondly, at Iqbal's belief that intellect creates doubts, while love brings true certainty.

Part IV

Naqsh-e-Farang

The fourth part of *Payam-e-Mashriq is* entitled "Naqsh-e-Farang" (A Picture of Europe). It gives the Eastern reader an idea of some aspects of European thought which the Poet considers important.[124] Iqbal portrays a number of important figures and gives us his personal opinions about them. Some of his comments are of considerable interest and importance

On Hegel

Hegel is described as

تاکیاں کز زور مستی خایه گیرد بے خروس[125]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 245)

It is interesting to note that Hegel was one of the thinkers who influenced Iqbal the most during his youth. In 1910, Iqbal had described Hegel's system of philosophy as "an epic poem in prose,"[126] and in 1914 had written that "from the point of view of imagination he is...greater than Plato."[127] The movement of thesis, antithesis and synthesis of the Hegelian system appealed to Iqbal, and Hegel's influence is reflected in lines such as

در جہاں تخم خصومت کاشت است
خویشتن را غیر خود پنداشت است[128]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 12)

Iqbal would agree with Hegel's view-point that "without contradiction there would be no life, no movement, no growth, no development; everything would be dead existence, static externality" and also that "nature does not stop at contradiction, but strives to evercome it."[129] But Iqbal did not share the idea of the Hegelian Absolute, Hegel's indifference to personal immortality and the idea that the Self is "a construction of thought, a mere predicate or adjective of the Absolute."[130] The lines on Hegel in *Payam-e-Mashriq* are thus "a verdict on the idealistic construction" of his thought which Iqbal regarded as "a spiritual sleeping pill."[131]

On Hegel and Rumi

In a poem on Hegel and Rumi, Iqbal compared the effects of these two great thinkers–one believing in the supremacy of Reason and the other in that of Love–on the reader's mind

می کشودم شبے بناخن فکر
عقده هائے حکیم المانی

آنکه اندیشه اش برهنه نمود
ابدی راز ز کسوت آنی
پیش عرض خیال اوگیتی
خجل آمد زتنگ دامانی
چوں بدریائے او فرورفتم
کشتئ عقل گشت طوفانی
نگه شوق تیز تر گردید
چہره بنمود پیر یزانی
...
گفت با من، چه خفتهٔ برخیز!
به سرابے سفینه می رانی؟
به خرد راه عشق می پوئی؟
به چراغ آفتاب می جوئی؟[132]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, pp. 242-243)

On Schopenhauer and Nietzsche

Iqbal compares Schopenhauer's pessimism with the heroic will of Nietzsche's philosophy. Schopenhauer is likened to bird which saw in the closed bud "the guile of spring," and Nietzsche to a hoopoe which with its beak drew the thorn from its body, saying "Get thee profit out of loss."[133]

For Nietzsche, Iqbal had a special fondness, and as Professor Schimmel observes, Iqbal understood "the tragical history of the German Philosopher...perhaps better than most of his European critics."[134] He described Nietzsche as one with a believing heart but a disbelieving mind. The "Mad Man" of Europe who "plunged a lancet into Europe's heart" and whose "hand is red with the blood of the Cross" built "a pagoda on the ruins of the Temple."[135] A strange mixture of

belief and disbelief, Nietzsche is likened by Iqbal to Nimrod who lit the fire in which Abraham proved the strength and truth of his faith. Iqbal says:

خویش را در نار آں نمرود سوز
ز انکه بستان خلیل از آذر است[136]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 241)

On Bergson

Professor Nicholson correctly observed about Iqbal that "there is no modern philosopher with whom he is so much in sympathy as with Bergson."[137] Bergson's "Message" –which is also Iqbal's own to a great extent–is summed up in a few lines

تا بر تو آشکار شود راز زندگی
خود را جدا ز شعله مثال شررمکن
…
نقشے که بستۂ همه اوهام باطل است
عقلے بہم رساں که ادب خوردۂ دل است[138]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 247)

On Goethe and Rumi

Iqbal describes a meeting, in Heaven, of the two poets dearest to his heart–Goethe and Rumi– brought together by their belief in the superiority of Love to Reason. After hearing Goethe reading *Faust*, Rumi says:

سوز و ساز جاں به پیکر دیدۂ
در صدف تعمیر گوهر دیدۂ
هرکسے از رمز عشق آگاه نیست
هر کسے شایان ایں درگاه نیست
"داند آں کو نیک بخت و محرم است
زیرکی ز ابلیس و عشق از آدم است"[139]
(رومی)

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, pp. 246-247)

Socialism

The poems on the 'Capitalist and the Wage Earner'[140] and the 'Workman's' Song'[141] show that Iqbal's "humanism with the whole heart, is on the side of the 'working man."[142] This does not, however, prevent Iqbal from directing his pungent satire towards the Communist regime. Lenin proclaims the triumph of Communism to Kaiser Wilhelm who retorts that the people have only exchanged one master for another.

"نماند ناز شیریں بے خریدار
اگر خسرو نباشد کوهکن هست"[143]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 250)

On the League of Nations

Iqbal does not place any faith in the League of Nations because he does not believe in political shortcuts to the Millennium.[144]

برفتد تا روش رزم دریں بزم کہن
درد مندان جہاں طرح نو انداختہ اند
من ازیں بیش ندانم کہ کفن دزدے چند
بہر تقسیم قبور انجمنے ساختہ اند![145]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 233)

The main interest of the opinions expressed in "Naqsh-e-Farang" is that they throw light on Iqbal's own frame of reference and values. Also, some of the judgments–such as those on Hegel–show "the revolution which his philosophical ideal had undergone since he had returned from Europe."[146]

Part V

Khurda

The last part of *Payam-e-Mashriq* is entitled "Khurda" (Fragments) and consists of miscellaneous verses.

Introduction

Payam-e-Mashriq also has an introduction by Iqbal containing a short history of the Oriental movement in German literature. This has been described as the first genuine attempt of a well-read Eastern poet to respond to this poetical movement and enter into a dialogue with Europe.'[147]

***Payam-e-Mashriq*: Purpose and Purport**

In the Preface, Iqbal states that the purpose of the book is "to bring out those social and religious truths which have a bearing on the spiritual development of individuals and communities."[148] After having slumbered for centuries the Eastern people, particularly the Muslims, have realized that they can change their environments only by bringing about a transformation of their inner self. Iqbal also says that he has dedicated the book to the Afghan King, because the King appreciates the importance of "the development of an outlook among men and nations which transcends geographical limitations and helps to create among them a sound and strong sense of humanity."[149]

The "Message" of the East to the West could be summed up in a single word–Love. Iqbal says:

از من اے باد صبا گوے بدانائے فرنگ
عقل تا بال کشود است گرفتار تراست
برق را ایں بجگرمی زند آں رام کند
عشق از عقل فسوں پیشہ جگر دار تراست[150]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 225)

This message reached at least his friend and translator Professor Nicholson who advised the taking to heart of Iqbal's "eloquent message...which...bids us throw off the fetters of an arid intellectualism and emerge into our inner world of Life and Love."[151]

Payam-e-Mashriq bears the influence–largely emotional–of the German Romantic Movement (Goethe, Heine and so many others). It is a work of importance and of

beauty containing poems of an exquisite lyrical inspiration. Although it does not have a formal unity of structure, "it has, nevertheless, a thematic coherence and emotional consistency."[152]

ZABUR-E-'AJAM

Zabur-e-'Ajam was first published in 1927, and dedicated to the Nawwab of Bhopal, a patron of Iqbal. It consists of Zabur-e-'Ajam–a collection of 'ghazals', and two *masnawis*–"Gulshan-e-Raz-e-Jadid" and "Bandagi Nama."

Zabur-e-'Ajam which forms the greater part of the volume, consists of two sections, the first containing 56, and the second 75, *ghazals.*

Philosophy of Love

Iqbal's Philosophy of Love finds perhaps its best illustration in *Zabur-e-'Ajam*. The theme of the *Persian Psalms* is the theme of the human heart and its ardent pilgrimage through the Valley of Love or the journey of the Self towards perfection. This journey, as Iqbal Singh observes "acquires the quality of an endless apocalypse. The theme enables Iqbal to modulate through the whole gamut of human experience and beyond."[153]

Iqbal's mysticism is nowhere so apparent as when he speaks of Love. It is not the Love which seeks annihilation in the Primal Source, but it has the same urgency, the same compulsion which characterizes the mystic's passion. Z*abur-e-'Ajam* contains records of both human and divine love, "but the terms, in the moment of intense realization, become inter–changeable, the barriers are no more; and the categories are no longer exclusive but complementary and even inclusive."[154] The ecstasy of the one cannot be measured against the other for, in a way, "both are beyond measure."[155]

Both the "loveless European civilisation and educational system" and the East which does not know the positive meaning of Love, are objects of Iqbal's criticism:

مشرق خراب و مغرب ازاں بیشتر خراب
عالم تمام مرده و بے ذوق جستجوست[156]

(*Zabur-e-'Ajam*, p. 71)

The heart seeks Love which is not to be found in a sterile education or in religious formalism. Therefore, in the present-day world it wanders in its search, dissatisfied, unfulfilled.

مسجد و میخانه و دیر و کلیسا و کنشت
صد فسوں از بہر دل بستند و دل خوشنودے[157]

(*Zabur-e-'Ajam*, p. 156)

Idea of Revolution

In one section of *Zabur-e-'Ajam*, Iqbal voices his protest against injustice and exploitation in all spheres of social, political and religious life. The socialistic element in his thought is underscored in lines which seem to contain all the unspoken fury felt by the indigent worker

خواجه از خون رگ مزدور ساز و لعل ناب
از جفائے ده خدایاں کشت دهقاناں خراب
انقلاب!
انقلاب! اے انقلاب![158]

(*Zabur-e-'Ajam*, p. 134)

Luther-like, Iqbal also protests against the so-called interpreters and protectors of the religious law who make a living out of misleading simple people. Further, he condemns the new learning which has brought in its wake nothing but despair and disbelief. God, says Iqbal, is hard to find in a world given to the principle of evil, doubt and darkness symbolized by Ahriman.[159]

As remarked by Professor Arberry, Iqbal has played "a leading part in that most exciting drama of modern times, the revolt of Islam against internal corruption, and especially and most compellingly against external domination."[160]

Poetry and Philosophy

Iqbal's "extraordinary talent for that most delicate of all Persian styles"[161]–the 'ghazal'–is in itself a remarkable thing. What is even more remarkable is the way in which Iqbal, while maintaining its pattern and image, made it a vehicle of his complex philosophical thought. Iqbal did not leave the 'ghazal' where he found it, but "with the true touch of genius he took it one stage forward."[162]

Gulshan-e-Raz-e-Jadid

(The New Rose Garden of Mystery) is a *masnavi* composed on the model of Mahmud Shabistari's "Gulshan-e-Raz" which "is one of the best and most compendious manuals of the mystical doctrine of the Sufis."[163] The latter poem was composed in February–March, 1311, in reply to a series of fifteen questions to a mystical doctrine propounded by an enquirer named Amir Husaini.[164] Iqbal asks nine questions but covers most of the ground of Shabistari's poem.

Two Aspects of Thought

The first question deals with the two aspects of thought depicted by light (which is a symbol of intuitive insight) and fire (which is emblematic of intellectual apprehension). Man is made up of both light and fire, hence both intuition and intellect must be employed in order to grasp the whole of life. The use of one, to the exclusion of the other, leads to error and sin.

Knowledge and the Self

In the second question, Iqbal deals with the nature and scope of knowledge. The life and evolution of the Self depends on its connections with the phenomenal world. These connections are established by knowledge, hence the importance given to '*ilm* by Iqbal. On the other hand, he also wishes to emphasize that the mind is not passive in the act of knowledge but is intimately related to the object known.

Time and Space

In the third question, Iqbal deals with the concepts of Time and Space in relation to the efficient and the

appreciative Self. The efficient or the intellectual Self treats Time and Space as static entities and breaks them up into measurable units. The appreciative or the intuitive Self does not dissect Time and Space into fragments but can grasp Reality in its wholeness.

Body and Soul

Iqbal does not regard the body and soul as two separate substances. In the West, says Iqbal, the duality of the body and the spirit has led to the dichotomy between the Church and the State. Iqbal pleads for an awareness of the organic unity of life, i.e., the unity of body and mind, Church and State, heart and mind.

The Transcendence of God

In the fourth question, Iqbal speaks of God's transcendence–the separateness of the Eternal and the Temporal. The separation of the Lover and the Beloved (the relationship of God and Man is, for Iqbal, a personal one of Love) is a blessing since it adds to the ardour of Man's quest. Iqbal does not conceive of the quest ending in annihilation or *fana*–the mystic union with God, but in *baqa*–a state in which the individuality of both God and Man is preserved.

The Exploration of Self

In the fifth question, Iqbal explains what the exploration of the Self means–it means coming into contact with the appreciative Self and becoming eternal, being "reborn in soul."[165] Iqbal also speaks of Man as the "trustee" of personality and reminds Man of the hazards and glories of such .a trust.

Freedom and Death

In the sixth question, Iqbal speaks first of the freedom of Man. The body is subject to the mechanical laws which govern the physical world, but the soul is free. Both Iqbal and Bergson believed "that determination is due to body and intellect, while with regard to soul, Man is free."[166] The efficient Self is thus bound by necessity but not so the appreciative Self. The more closely a man lives in accordance

with his deepest Self, the greater is his freedom. Since it is through Love that one reaches the inner centre of experience, Love is a measure of one's freedom. Iqbal goes on to speak of the immortality of the fortified Ego. The death to be feared, he says, is not the physical death, but the death of the soul resulting from a life in which "love's task is disavowed."[167]

The Perfection of Man

In the seventh question, Iqbal says that Man must not seek his bounds but travel on forever, from victory to victory, until he stands in the very Presence of God. But even at that moment he must be Self-possessed lest he is "drowned in His Light's sea."[168] The Perfect Man, says Iqbal, is he who is gifted with the knowledge of the affairs of Religion and of State, who combines vision and power, Love and Intellect.

"I am the Truth"

Iqbal refers in the eighth question to Hallaj's classic words "I am the Truth" which were once regarded as suggesting the absolute, substantial union of Man and God. However, the researches of L. Massignon have succeeded in showing "that in the theology of Hallaj, God's pure transcendence is maintained."[169] There is the possibility, however, of God in the believer's heart, but as L. Massignon states, according to Hallaj "the Divine Unity does not result in destroying the personality of the mystic but it makes him more perfect, more sacred, more divine, and makes him its free and living organ."[170] This idea finds a close parallel in Iqbal who thinks that the truly self-aware mystic who cries *ana'l-haqq* is not a pantheist but one who partakes of the freedom and creativity of the Ultimate Ego.[171]

The Indivisibility and Immortality of the Self

Iqbal speaks of the indivisibility of the "I". The existence of the world needs proof but the reality of the Self is manifest. The Self is real, no doubt, but Iqbal states that it cannot attain eternal life unless it perfects itself. This is Iqbal's doctrine of conditional immortality. The immortality of Man, says Iqbal, is better than God's, since God is

elementally immortal but Man has to win his everlasting life.

The World, Man and God

In the last question, Iqbal refers to the transient and phenomenal character of the world, but also points to his belief that the Self can transcend the limitations of Space and Time, and attain immortality without losing its identity. Man may be a tiny mote in a wide cosmos but

چراغے از دم گرمے تواں سوخت
بسوزن چاک گردوں میتواں دوخت[172]

(*Zabur-e-'Ajam*, p. 241)

Man's long and painful quest becomes easier when he knows that God is also in search of him and responds to his call "with all a lover's eagerness."[173]

The Message and Significance of "Gulshan-e-Raz-e-Jadid"

In the conclusion to this *masnawi* Iqbal urges the individual to realize all his potentialities. The Self is likened to a sword–the symbol of action. The Perfect Man, says Iqbal, has "the Shining Hand" of Moses–emblematic at once of mystic and prophetic consciousness. In this *masnawi*, Iqbal's mysticism which includes his philosophy of action, is given significant expression. "Gulshan-e-Raz-e-Jadid" contains, many of Iqbal's most important ideas in a nut-shell. Hence, for students of his thought, it has a special value.

"**Bandagi Nama**"

(The Book of Servitude) as the name indicates, is concerned with the question of servitude, not only in the domain of politics, but also in cultural and religious spheres. Throughout this *Masnawi* one contrast is present either in an explicit or an implicit form–the contrast between the "slave" and the "Mard-e-Hurr" (The Free Man). The latter is creative and bold and faces great hazards so that he may win great glories. The former chooses the path of least resistance, preferring safety to danger, selling his soul so that his body may live.

On the Fine Arts of the Slaves

The first section of "Bandagi Nama" depicts the characteristics of the fine arts of "slaves". The music of the slaves, says Iqbal, contains a message of death, because it lulls people into a state of passivity. If art has no meaning or purpose it is worthless no matter how exquisite it seems.

A slave is a follower, an imitator who borrows beauty from external sources. Not having a well-integrated personality, his art cannot have the miracle-performing power of moses. Iqbal says:

چوں کلیمے شد بروں از خویشتن
دست او تاریک و چوب او رسن[174]

(*Zabur-e-'Ajam*, p, 256)

On the other hand, a true artist is a creator–both of beauty and of values:

فطرت پاکش عیار خوب و زشت
صنعتش آئینه دار خوب و زشت[175]

(*Zabur-e-'A jam*, p. 2.56)

On the Religion of the Slaves

According to Iqbal, in slavery religion becomes mere lip-service to God while real homage is paid to secular deities. Iqbal protests vehemently against the secularism and materialism which disregard the spiritual aspect of life. A slave, says Iqbal, kills both himself and God since he is unaware both of his own station and of his relationship to God. He thrives on the favour and patronage of rulers, and becomes, in Iqbal's eyes, a beggar who has no pride, a short-sighted creature who pays for his 'today' with his 'tomorrow'.[176]

On the Architecture of Free Men

One section of "Bandagi Nama" is devoted to the work of Free Men who live and die heroically, erecting from mere stone and heaps of clay, eternal monuments to love and faith. What they accomplish is an inspiration to all

سنگہا با سنگہا پیوسته اند
روز گارے را بآنے بسته اند
دیدن او پخته تر سازد ترا
در جہان دیگر اندازد ترا[177]

(Z*abur-e-'Ajam*, p. 262)

It is through Love that true Art comes into being. Love creates beauty and invests it with sanctity. It burnishes a stone till it becomes a mirror, and gives to men of faith the White Hand of Moses. It adds fire and vigour to our thought, and richness and fullness to life. As has been reiterated through the ages, Love is sufficient unto itself.

عشق مور و مرغ و آدم را بس است
عشق تنہا هر دو عالم را بس است
دلبری بے قاهری جادو گری است
دلبری با قاهری پیغمبری است
هر دو را در کارها آمیخت عشق
عالمے در عالمے انگیخت عشق[178]

(*Zabur-e-'Ajam*, p. 264)

***Zabur-e-'Ajam*–Message and Style**

To Iqbal, *Zabur-e-'Ajam* was dearest of all his literary products.[179] In *Bal-e-Jibril*, he wrote

اگر هو ذوق تو خلوت میں پڑھ زبور عجم
فغان نیم شبی بے نوائے راز نہیں[180]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 59)

In *Zabur-e-'Ajam* Iqbal's didacticism is still there but it has lost some of its solemnity. Also there is very little sentimentality in the book. As Iqbal Singh says, "The tone has grace, and the message rarely ceases to be song. He (Iqbal) seems to have thrown overboard much of the didactic

ballast, the heavy homilectic which weighted down the wings of inspiration in the *Asrar* and *Rumuz* and prevented it from soaring. The lyrical impulse has returned at a higher level of apprehension. We are no longer confronted with adolescent moods overcharged with significances which they could not sustain, but with the mirror of adult experience, and the significances are never laboured because they are self-evident and manifest."[181]

In *Zabur-e-'Ajam,* Iqbal asks questions which he has asked before and the answers he gives are not new. The message remains unaltered but it comes through to us with greater ease and clarity of vision. The reader is convinced that with this book, Iqbal-the Poet-Philosopher–has scaled a new height and found a new sureness of touch.

JAVID NAMA

Javid Nama is Iqbal's *magnum opus.* All his lyrical expressions seem to be a preparation for, or an echo of, this dramatic poem.[182] Generally regarded as Iqbal's greatest poetical work this poem describes the Poet's spiritual journey from Earth through the various Spheres into the Presence of God. This journey is a kind of Ascension (*me'raj*) –the journey of the Prophet of Islam who, guided by the Archangel Gabriel, ascended from the first Heaven (where he met Adam) to the seventh (where he met Abraham) and then entered the Divine Presence.[183] The Ascension is the most sublime symbol of Man's way towards God.[184] For Iqbal it also becomes a symbol of the doctrine of Muslim regeneration and self-realization.[185]

Theme of the Poem

The poem begins with the Poet's Prayer for *nazar* (vision) so that he can liberate himself from the cycle of serial time and become eternal. The Poet says:

عقل دادی هم جنونے ده مرا
ره بجذب اندرونے ده مرا

آ نیم من جاودانی کن مرا
از زمینی آسمانی کن مرا[186]

(*Javid Nama*, pp. 4-5)

The Prayer gives the essential theme of the whole poem.[187]

Prologue in Heaven–Man's Destiny Foreshadowed

The Prayer is followed by a Prologue in Heaven–a motif used in *the Book of Job,* and by Goethe in *Faust*[188]. In this Prologue, Man's glorious destiny is foreshadowed–though a creature of Earth, he is to pass beyond the Heavens:

فروغ مشت خاک از نوریاں افزوں شود روزے
زمین از کوکب تقدیر او گردوں شود روزے[189]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 10)

Prologue on Earth–the Meaning of Ascension Explained

In the Prologue on Earth, the Spirit of Rumi appears. A dialogue ensues between Iqbal and Rumi. The former wants to know how one can enter the Presence of God, Rumi, in answer, explains the meaning of prayer

هر دو زادن را دلیل آمد اذاں
آں بلب گویند و ایں از عین جاں[190]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 16)

Iqbal wants to know about the manner of "spiritual birth" and Rumi explains it by means of the idea of polarity–the contrast between *khalwat* (seclusion) and *jalwat* (manifestation). When in seclusion, the Ego comes into contact with God; when manifesting itself, the Ego emulates the Attributes of God. Love tends towards seclusion and Reason towards manifestation. The Perfect Man begins in seclusion and ends by translating his vision into action.

Rumi also tells the initiate that Man's physical self does not bar him from experiencing a communion with God. The body too is a state of the soul and the soul is "rapture, joy,

burning and anguish."[191] The Ascension occurs when the ardour of his quest liberates Man from the order of Space and Time. Thus the Ascension denotes a significant change or revolution in the very centre of one's awareness.[192]

Significance of Rumi's Discourse

Rumi's discourse to Iqbal is based on the idea that a heavenly being, spirit, or angel must break the spell of the ephemeral world. This idea is found in almost every mystic and gnostic system.[193]

Spirit of Time and Space

Zarvan, the Spirit of Time and Space, appears. He is conceived as a sorcerer whose spell has to be broken. The Man of God, recognizing the creative activity of God and participating in God's activity, is saved from the charm of Zarvan's colourful wings.

The Lunar Sphere (Thoughts on Asceticism)

Rumi and Iqbal meet an ascetic paradoxically named *Jahandost* (The Friend of the World), who is identified by Professor Bausani with the Indian sage Vishvamitra.[194] The Sage, like the great Vedanta theologians, understands the world as a dreamlike thing, as the veil of the *maya* behind which the Unqualified Reality is hidden, for "God is colourless" he says.[195] Iqbal does not accept the theory of *maya* but he regards the Indian ascetic as one of those religious persons who have found God in their own heart.[196] *Jahandost*, shown as a still figure and a befitting symbol of the hitherto unchanging Last, is experiencing "strange desires, newborn thoughts and unfamiliar emotions."[197] He predicts the awakening of the Last. Through his portrayal of *Jahandost*, Iqbal may be implying that a true Man of God cannot really renounce the world, that even his asceticism contains elements of concern for the world on which he has consciously turned his back.

Manifestations of Divine Power

In the Valley of Yargmid–realm of Prophecy and Vision–Rumi and Iqbal come across the tablets of Buddha,

Zoroaster, Christ and Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) Here, Iqbal expresses his opinion about the four great religious leaders of the world. Surprisingly enough, he does not depict Buddha as a pessimistic, negative philosopher but as a defender of active, dynamic ideas. He does so presumably because Buddhism places much stress on action through which the *karma* for the next birth is prepared.'[198] Buddha says:

حسن رخسار دمے هست و دمے دیگر نیست

حسن کردار و خیالات خوشاں چیزے هست[199]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 50)

The second testament is that of Zoroaster being tried by Ahriman. Here Iqbal brings out the difference between the mystic and the prophetic types of consciousness. Iqbal makes Zoroaster the defender of the social character of religion. He refuses to succumb to Ahriman's temptation that he should dwell in seclusion, and says:

خویشتن را وا نمودن زندگی است

ضرب خود را آزمودن زندگی است[200]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 53)

The third testament shows Jesus being interpreted by Tolstoy "who has been considered in the East the spokesman of criticism against the contemporary Christian way of life."[201] In Iqbal's opinion, the West with its artifice and superficiality has betrayed the true meaning of the teachings of Jesus. In Tolstoy's *vision*, Iqbal expresses pointedly "Europe's treason to the love of Christ:[202]

از دم او رفته جاں آمد بتن

از تو جاں را د خمه می گردد بدن[203]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 57)

The last testament shows the soul of Abu Jahl lamenting in the precincts of the Ka'ba because Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) has put an end to idolatry and to distinctions of birth, race and colour.

The Sphere of Mercury

Communism, Capitalism, Capitalism and Islam: In the Sphere of Mercury, Rumi and Iqbal meet Jamal-ud-din Afghani and Said Halim Pasha who were Iqbal's precursors in many ways.[204] Jamal-ud-din Afghani says that the Muslims must be like the sun which belongs neither to the East nor to the West. Next, "with remarkable balance he recognizes the positive function of Communism, namely that of destroying an old and hypocritical world contemporarily criticizing its impotence to shape a really new world...because it is devoid of a superior spirituality."[205] Capitalism, he says, thrives on the poverty of those who are its victims. In the last analysis, neither Communism nor Capitalism shows regard for humanity.

هر دو را جاں نا صبور و نا شکیب
هر دو یزداں نا شناس آدم فریب
زندگی ایں را خروج آں را خراج
درمیان ایں دو سنگ آدم زجاج
ایں به علم و دیں و فن آرد شکست
آں برد جاں را ز تن ناں را ز دست
عزم دیدم هر دو را در آب و گل
هر دو را تن روشن و تاریک دل![206]

(*Javid Nama*, p.70)

In his message to the Russian people, Afghani says that they must pass beyond the stage of negation (*la*) to the stage of affirmation (*illa*). Like Islam, Communism has destroyed autocracy and removed priesthood. Now it must accept a positive code of life and turn to the Qur'an which "upholds the rights of the disinherited of the world." Thus Afghani (and also Iqbal)" sees in the democratic theocracy of Islam (God and God alone, Lord of everything; everybody equal in so far as all are slaves of God; nobody possessing anything

because everything belongs to God), the only solution for the problems of the world."[207]

Intellect and Love

Through Said Halim Pasha, Iqbal expounds his views on Intellect and Love. Real progress is achieved when both arc joined together in the lives of individuals and nations. Afghani while admitting that Knowledge is a great good, points out that if it is divorced from Love it becomes an instrument of evil and destruction

علم بے عشق است از طاغوتیاں
علم با عشق است از لاھوتیاں[208]

(*Javid Nama*, p, 83)

The Sphere of Venus: On Paganism and tyranny

In this Sphere we hear the song of Baal–the representative of the heathen god *par excellence*.[209] He rejoices over the disappearance of monotheism from the world and the spiritual degeneration which inevitably follows when Man worships many gods instead of the One God. The refrain of Baal's song is very expressive

اے خدایان کہن وقت است وقت[210]

(*Javid Nama*, pp 102-103)

In this Sphere Iqbal also confronts Pharaoh with Lord Kitchener. Both Pharaoh and Kitchener turned deaf ears to the appeal of religious forces –Pharaoh refused to listen to Moses, and Kitchener to the Manhi of Omdurman. "The personifications of nationalist and imperialist tendencies in old and new times which were unwilling to accept the Divine revelation, have suffered the same lot by the stroke of Moses, being drowned in a merciless sea."[211]

The Sphere of Mars: Ideal: Spiritual Democracy

Here Iqbal depicts a completely Utopian set-up where there are no masters and no servants, no beggars and no priests. The Martians excel in the knowledge of science and arts but they are not obsessed by materialism like the West.

They have no currency, no machines, and no armament. The only disturbance in this perfect Sphere is caused by the appearance of a European woman who tries to teach women how to become emancipated. Here, as elsewhere, Iqbal is unjust to the Western Woman.

Problem of Destiny

The Martian Philosopher tells the two Poets that since one's destiny depends on oneself, it follows that, if one changes oneself, one can also change one's destiny. This is one of the most important ideas in Iqbal's philosophy.

The Sphere of Jupiter: Mysteries of Love Revealed

In this Sphere, the Poets meet Ilallaj, Ghalib and Qurratu'l-'ain Tahira–"the celestial vagrants."[212] Here the mysteries of Destiny and Love are revealed. These three figures–symbols of Love–have been exiled from Paradise because true lover needs no Paradise.

Iqbal sees in Hallaj the great example of living faith, a representative of dynamism and the Poet's forerunner who, like Iqbal himself, spoke of the primary significance of Selfhood, and considered the deniers of Self to be infidels. Through Hallaj, Iqbal expounds his views on human destiny and asceticism.

Satan as a Heroic-Tragic Figure

Satan is shown here as the archetype of those who have, out of an infinite and insatiable passion for God, deprived themselves of His Presence.[213] He is the lover forever exiled from his Beloved, too proud even to seek forgiveness. All he asks for is a worthy adversary–he is sick of vanquishing cowards and weaklings. Satan's lament has profound poetical and philosophical implications and is amongst the most powerful poetry Iqbal ever wrote.

The Sphere of Saturn: Treason

Here the Poets meet the Spirit of India in chains due to the betrayal of Ja'far and Sadiq–the two traitors whom even Hell has refused to admit. The lament of the traitors expresses their spiritual agony

ایں جہاں بے ابتدا بے انتہا ست
بندۂ غدار را مولا کجا ست؟[214]

(*Javid Nama*, p.172)

Beyond the Spheres: Meeting with Nietzsche:

Here the Poets see Nietzsche forever repeating one verse (symbolic of his doctrine of eternal recurrence)

"نہ جبریلے نہ فردوسے نہ حورے نے خداوندے
کف خاکے کہ می سوزد ز جاں آرزومندے"[215]

(*Javid Nama*, p.176)

This verse points to what Iqbal regarded as the main reason underlying Nietzsche's tragedy–his godlessness coupled with his great spiritual need for positive belief.

Benefits of an Adversary

Saiyed 'Ali Hamadani, the Persian mystic, explains to Iqbal the benefits of having an adversary. There is Evil in the world, he says, so that the Good can be made manifest.

Role of a Poet

The Kashmiri Poet Tahir Ghani, exhorts Iqbal to sing, for

از نوا تشکیل تقدیر امم
از نوا تخریب و تعمیر امم[216]

(*Javid Nama*, p.195)

It is to be pointed out that Iqbal regarded Poetry as being akin to Prophecy and considered the Poet to be the Prophet's heir.

Importance of Action

The Indian poet, Bhartari-Hari judged action to be the only thing worthy of adoration. He says in Iqbal's poem:

پیش آئین مکافات عمل سجدہ گزار
ز انکہ خیزد ز عمل دوزخ و اعراف و بہشت![217]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 200)

Iqbal believed so strongly in action that he turns even to Hindu wisdom to find support for his ideas.[218]

Condemnation of Blind Imitation

Ahmed Shah Abdali condemns blind imitation of Western ways. The West, he says, is to be emulated only so far as its ways are beneficial and lead to true progress and enlightenment. Iqbal, it is to be pointed out, whilst critical of the West for its "superficiality" and lack of spirituality, also admired the West for its seriousness of purpose in the acquisition of knowledge.

Life and Immortality

Through Tipu Sultan, the martyr-king, Iqbal expresses his ideas on life as a constantly-moving stream. The universe changes every instant and immortality lies not in "the length of days" but in "the breadth of life."[219] A hero, though he lives but for a moment, wins immortality. In Iqbal's view, immortality is only for "lions" and not for "sheep"[220]

The Divine Presence: Life is Creative Activity

When at last Iqbal hears the Divine Voice, he is told that a Man of God is trenchant like a sword, who shatters what is uncongenial to him and builds a new world. He who does not participate in creative activity is an infidel.

Sovereignty Resides in *Tauhid*

The Divine Voice tells Iqbal that both individuals and nations derive stability and strength from the principle of God's Unity. Unanimity of aim and action follows from the belief in the One Living God, so the Voice urges

وحدت افکار و کردار آفرین
تا شوی اندر جہاں صاحب نگیں[221]

(*Javid Nama*, p.228)

The Transformation

The dialogue between the Divine Voice and the Poet is, as Iqbal Singh aptly describes, a "preparation for the ultimate moment of apocalypse, of transfiguration. It could only be a

moment, since eternity itself is not a horizontal extension but a vertical ascent, an instantaneous realization and revelation. But the moment of unveiling is also a moment of silence–beyond all utterance. Like Moses before him, the Poet loses all power of speech."[222] The journey *to* God having ended, the tourney *in* God begins. The Poet can only indicate that he has been transformed.[223]

Message to the New Generation

Javid Nama ends with a message to the Poet's son, Javid, who is also the symbol of the new generation. The message contains, in a nutshell, Iqbal's philosophy of Selfhood, the relationship of Man to the world, to other men and to God.

Javid Nama: Nature and Scope

It is generally agreed that *Javid Nama* is the quintessence of Iqbal's art and thought. In scope and conception it is often compared to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Inevitably there are differences between the two poems–Iqbal lived in an age very different from Dante's, and belonged to a different religious tradition–but there is, between them, "a fundamental identity of imaginative purpose."[224] Both poems, with their cosmic vision and perspective of eternity, combine the spiritual ascension of a deeply religious consciousness with a criticism of contemporary socio-political, clerical and other ills. As Professor Bausani points out, the nature of Iqbal's ascension is, in a sense, different from Dante's, "because in this Man plays the prevailing part–but it is the complete Man who has left behind him the purifying experience of Dante's voyage and the admonishment of Faust's damnation."[225]

Poetically, *Javid Noma* is a narrative, dramatic poem in which the didactic is put into the mouths of the dramatis personae. It is interspersed with charming 'ghazals' the effect of which is "a very great enhancement in the poetic tension of the work."[226] In theme as well as in style, *Javid Nama* ranks amongst the greatest poems in the world.

MUSAFIR

Iqbal was always interested in the welfare of Afghanistan whose strong and sturdy inhabitants, sandwiched between two mighty empires, still maintained their independence. He dedicated *Payam-e-Mashriq* to an Afghan King, and the story is well–known of how he offered monetary help–consisting of almost all the money he possessed–to General Nadir Shah who later became the King of Afghanistan.[227] In September 1933, King Nadir Shah invited some educationists, including Iqbal, to his country to advise him on the introduction of some educational reforms. *Musafir* is a record of Iqbal's visit to Afghanistan. It is a *masnawi* in eleven cantos.

The Perfect King

In the first canto Iqbal praises Nadir Shah (who incidentally, was assassinated soon after the delegation left the country). Nadir Shah, Iqbal says, was a King possessing the habits of a *darvesh*, thus combining the two great attributes of the Perfect man–power and *faqr* (spiritual poverty). He had been a Man of Action and also a Man of Love–in other words, a man who came very close to Iqbal's ideal of Manhood.

Definition of Religion

In his address to the inhabitants of the frontier areas, Iqbal defines Religion in terms of Self-hood and the principle of *Tauhid*. The awakening and integration of the individual and the collective ego is essential for advancement in the spiritual or the temporal sphere. Iqbal preached his familiar message with renewed vigour:

چیست دیں؟ دریافتن اسرار خویش
زندگی مرگ است بے دیدار خویش
برگ و ساز کائنات از وحدت است
اندریں عالم حیات از وحدت است[228]

(*Musafir*, pp. 7–10)

The Perfect Man–Destroyer and Creator

Iqbal describes his Perfect Man as both destroyer and creator–he destroys old evils and creates new ideals. He is the heir of the prophets–demolishing an old world to build a new one. Very often the idol-breaking Perfect Man is symbolized by Abraham–the builder of the *Ka'ba* and the champion of God's Oneness against the polytheistic customs of his father Azar. Time and again in his poetry, Iqbal tells the Muslim that he must be like Abraham. In *Musafir*, Iqbal likens the Self to the *Ka'ba*, the inner sanctuary, the Holy of Holies, and says:

پور آذر کعبه را تعمیر کرد
از نگاہے خاک را اکسیر کرد
تو خودی اندر بدن تعمیر کن
مشت خاک خویش را اکسیر کن[229]

(*Musafir*, p. 11)

Desire

Iqbal never wearied of affirming the value of longing and desire. He was the prophet of a new world–a world which could not be created without the heat of passion. So he says

آرزو سرمایۂ سلطان و میر
آرزو جام جہاں بین فقیر[230]

(*Musafir*, p. 10)

Afghans: Symbols of Islam Rejuvenated

Iqbal describes his visit to Kabul and his meeting with Nadir Shah whom he likens to the Caliph 'Omar who was known for his valour and justice. From Iqbal's lines, we can perceive his reasons for liking the Afghans and their country–they are vigorous, vital and virile people, and become, for Iqbal, the symbols of Islam rejuvenated. The visit to their country becomes almost a pilgrimage from which the Poet derives spiritual sustenance.

Longing for Freedom

Iqbal's deep longing for political freedom finds utterance when he visits the tomb of Babar, founder of the Mughal

Empire in India, and says:

خوشا نصیب که خاک تو آرمید اینجا
که ایں زمیں ز طلسم فرنگ آزاد است
هزار مرتبه کابل نکوتر از دلی است
"که آں عجوزه عروس هزار داماد است"[231]

(*Musafir*, pp. 16-17)

Homage to Sana'i

Iqbal pays homage to Hakim Sana'i, the great mystical poet. Sana'i was one of the mystics about whom Iqbal changed his opinion during the course of his life.[232] In 1916, he had regarded Sana'i as a typical exponent of "the highest happiness of bankruptcy which Islam declared as ignoble."[233] Yet, in *Musafir,* Iqbal finds some *affinity* between Sana'i's ideas and his own

او نقاب از چهرهٔ ایماں کشود
فکر من تقدیر مومن وا نمود
هر دو را از حکمت قرآں سبق
او ز حق گوید من از مردان حق[234]

(*Musafir*, p. 19)

Iqbal's change of opinion about Sana'i is probably linked with his change of opinion about Rumi. Rumi had assimilated the literary tradition of Sana'i and was deeply indebted to him. Iqbal asks the Spirit of Sana'i for guidance and the Spirit tells him how to create a New Man "in the colour and character of a tulip; in his heart the *LaIlah*"[235]–in other words, a man possessed of Love living up to the principle of "Tauhid".

Prayer for the Revivification of Islam

When Iqbal visits the tomb of Mahmud Ghazni–a symbol of the idol-destroying power of Islam, in Muslim poetry[236]–he hears the voice of a mad man mourning over the vanished glories of the great city and of the world of Islam. This is the cry of Iqbal's own heart and he prays for the resurrection of

that spirit which had once made the Muslims spiritually and politically exalted.

Devotion to the Prophet of Islam

Iqbal's deep devotion to the Prophet of Islam is embodied in one of his "finest Persian hymns"[237] inspired by his visit to the building where the Prophet's cloak had been kept. Seeing the cloak, Iqbal is reminded of the apocrypha *had is*: "I have two cloaks"–an allusion to spiritual poverty and the Holy War.[238]

Stress on the Importance of the Qur'an

In his message to the young King Zahir Shah, Iqbal advises him regarding the ways of wise government. He tells him to associate with men of vision, to work honestly and resolutely and above all to live by the spirit of the Qur'an which being "God's own word...contains infinite new possibilities."[239]

صد جہاں باقی است در قرآں ہنوز
اندر آیاتش یکے خودرا بسوز[240]

(*Musafir*, p. 39)

***Musafar*: Significance**

Musafir records Iqbal's love for a land where the glory of Mahmud Ghazni and the spirituality of Sana'i are still living.[241] He hopes that the two characteristics–the valour and the might symbolised by an emperor who served Islam, and the vision and spiritual power symbolised by a mystic–will develop further in the character of the Afghans and will enable them to attain their rightful place in the world in the spiritual as well as the temporal sphere.

PAS CHE BAYAD KARD AI AQWAM-E-SHARQ?

This *masnawi* first published in 1936, registered the Poet's reaction to Italy's invasion of Abyssinia. The question, "So What Should Be Done, O Nations of the East?", though

addressed (as is obvious from the question), to the Nations of the East, is directed more specifically to the Muslim Nations, who represented, at the time, the nadir of political decadence and disintegration. "By its very phrasing the question evokes in the mind a background of long discussion and debate, of discontent with present conditions, of a continuing search for a way out, culminating in an urgent, insistent, impatient demand for action."[242] This poem makes positive suggestions for the regeneration of the down–trodden Eastern Nations most of them living under the domination of Western powers. It has been described as the "*Surat ul–Ikhlas* of the Qur'an in Pahlawi" (i.e. a quintessence of the core of Rumi's *Masnawi–e–Ma'nawi*.[243]

The Object of the Poem

In lines addressed to the reader, Iqbal describes the object of the poem. He says:

سپاہ تازہ برانگیزم از ولایت عشق
کہ در حرم خطرے از بغاوت خرد است
زمانہ ہیچ نداند حقیقت اورا
جنوں قباست کہ موزوں بقامت خرد است
گماں مبر کہ خرد را حساب و میزاں نیست
نگاہ بندۂ مومن قیامت خرد است[244]

(*Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq*? p. 4)

Thus the Poet is, here, a spokesman of Love in an over–intellectualized world. Once again inspired by Rumi, he sets out to "proclaim the meaning of religion and politics."[245] Rumi, as a teacher of Love and Passion and man of true and living faith, is–for Iqbal –the counterweight against loveless Reason and disbelief.

The Kingdom of Good and the Kingdom of Evil

Iqbal draws a contrast between *Hikmat-e-Kalimi* (the Philosophy or Rule of Moses) and *Hikmat-e-Fir'auni* (the Philosophy or Rule of Pharaoh). The former is described thus:

تا نبوت حکم حق جاری کند
پشت پا بر حکم سلطان می زند
در نگاهش قصر سلطاں کہنہ دیر
غیرت او برنتابد حکم غیر
ابتدائے عشق و مستی قاہری است
انتہائے عشق و مستی دلبری است[246]

(*Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq*? pp. 12-15)

Pharaoh's wisdom "consists of nothing but narrow nationalist ideas which arc opposed to the world–wide prophetic message."[247]

حکمت ارباب دیں کردم عیاں
حکم ارباب کیں راهم بداں
حکمت ارباب کیں مکر است و فن
مکر و فن؟ تخریب جاں تعمیر تن!
در دل شاں آرزوها بے ثبات
مردہ زایند از بطون امہات[248]

(*Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq*? pp. 16-17)

"**There is no god but God**"

The *Kalima* "There is no god but God'" has profound philosophical implications in Iqbal's thought. It signifies both negation (*la*) and affirmation (*illa*) and it is by means of the dialectical tension between the *la* and the *illa* that the development of the Self takes place. To achieve perfection, both *la* and *illa* are necessary. It is to be pointed out that great mystic poets such as Sana'i, 'Attar, and Rumi, have also used this contrast-pair.[249]

Faqr: Iqbal has devoted one long section of the *masnawi Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq*? to elucidating the concept of *faqr* or spiritual poverty. *Faqr* is a necessary

attribute of the Perfect Man and means, for Iqbal, "freedom from everything besides God."[250] *Faqr* is opposed to beggary, for a *faqir* asks for nothing. *Faqr* is also opposed to ascetic poverty which has no practical consequences.[251] A *faqir* is a man who possesses great power–in fact he is the true possessor of sovereignty since he has conquered the world of Space and Time.

Mard-e-Hur

Iqbal sometimes refers to his Perfect Man as *Mard-e-Hur*–the Free Man who is subject to no authority save that of God. He lives a life of hardship and danger–a life which Iqbal would wish every man to lead.

Importance of Obedience to the *Shari'at*

In a section of the *Masnawi*, Iqbal explains the importance of the *Shari'at*. Professor Schimmel rightly observes that Iqbal "though an ardent advocate of the infinite possibilities of the Qur'an was strictly convinced that the legal injunctions once laid down in the Book were not to be changed, and that these rules were of eternal validity.[252] To the Muslim community, Iqbal says:

از جدائی گرچه جاں آید بلب

و صل 'او' کم جو رضائے 'او' طلب

مصطفی داد از وضائے 'او' خبر

نیست در احکام دیں چیزے دگر[253]

(*Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq*? p. 39)

These words seem to invite the comment that they sound like an "echo of the classical orthodox definition that Love of God is essentially obedience."[254] Iqbal seems to have put much stress on obedience to the *Shari'at* in the last years of his life.[255] In 1937, he said, "According to my creed, and perhaps according to the creed of every Muslim, it is the cause of prosperity to remain inside the limits of the *Shari'at*, and is unhappiness to transgress them."[256] His view is based on the belief that:

شرع برخیزد ز اعماق حیات
روشن از نورش ظلام کائنات[257]

(*Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq*? p. 39)

It is interesting to note that a number of outstanding poets (e.g. Wordsworth) have leaned towards conservatism in the later years of their life. It is for the conscientious biographer of Iqbal to discover the degree of the change in his views and the psychological and other reasons for the change.

On Politics and Islam

Iqbal mourns over the disunity of the peoples of India where the old lack wisdom and the young are unfamiliar with the ways of Love. Iqbal was concerned with the fate of India till the very end of his life–a fact often overlooked by those who think that Iqbal's devotion to Islam made him indifferent to the plight of his country.

In a section, entitled "Siyasat-e-Hazira" Iqbal condemns what passes under the name of "freedom" and "democracy" but in fact is a "veil on the face of kingship" and imperialism.[258] In another section he deplores the dissensions so noticeable among the Arabs–and tells the desert-dwellers with profound regret that they "do not know the worth of your desert.[259] It is to be pointed out that for Iqbal the Arabian Desert is the symbol of strength and courage, the battlefield where unfearing and unyielding servants of God are trained.

Condemnation of Secularism

In his address to the Eastern Nations, Iqbal tells them what they must do to preserve their entity against the advancing tide of Western imperialism. The Poet puts the blame for all the evils of the age at the door of Secularism which characterizes the Western culture. Europe propagating its materialistic philosophy, says Iqbal, is "lying wounded with its own sword."[260] The days of the East can be illumined again only if it realizes the essential unity of body and mind, of Man's religious and temporal life, and so–with the weight

behind it of a lifetime of passionate philosophizing–comes the exhortation

اے کہ جاں را بازمی دانی ز تن
سحر ایں تہذیب لا دینے شکن[261]

(*Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq*? p. 58)

Importance of the *Masnawi*

Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq?, which ends with a moving address to the Prophet of Islam, is generally considered to be the acme of Iqbal's political thinking.[262]

ARMAGHAN-E-HIJAZ

Reference has already been made to the Urdu section of this volume which was published posthumously in November 1938. The Persian section containing 394 quatrains is divided into five sections.

On Suffering

In his 'Address to God', Iqbal gives vent to the despair which overwhelmed him at times particularly towards the end of his life. He likens himself to a tulip–symbol of love–which has a "bleeding heart."[263] Knowing that the ego is strengthened by "the consciousness of pain," the Poet is willing to suffer but he makes a qualification.

من از غم ها نمی ترسم و لیکن
مده آں غم که شایان دلے نیست[264]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 7)

These words are associated with an idea found in popular piety, namely, that those who are nearest to God suffer the most.

Attack on Pseudo-Spirituals

Throughout his writings, Iqbal attacked the ignorance and worldliness of pseudo-spirituals who interpreted the idea of *tawakkul* (trust in God) as a kind of fatalism. In a well-known quatrain, Iqbal's satire becomes very pointed

مریدے فاقہ مستے گفت با شیخ
کہ یزداں را ز حال ما خبر نیست
بما نزدیک تر ازشہ رگ ماست
و لیکن از شکم نزدیک تر نیست![265]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 20)

This attack is aimed at "traffickers in religion" who are "travelling with disciples, insensible to the needs of the community."[266]

Address to the Prophet

Iqbal considers the Prophet–whom he often calls 'Mustafa' (The Chosen One) in the tradition of the mystic poets–the embodiment of human perfection. He does not swerve in his faith that "for us Mustafa is enough."[267] To the Muslims at the lowest ebb of their fortunes, he says:

کشودم پردہ را از روئے تقدیر
مشو نو مید و راہ مصطفی گیر[268]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 93)

Iqbal has written much to express his love and esteem for the Prophet of Islam in his role as the religious and political leader of men. As he grew older, however, Iqbal also began to look upon the Prophet as a beloved, compassionate friend, and in one of his last poems, "with a simplicity which is rarely met with in his poetry he shows himself on the road to Medina to the threshold of the Beloved."[269]

بایں پیری رہ یثرب گرفتم
نوا خواں از سرور عاشقانہ
چو آں مرغے کہ در صحرا سر شام
کشاید پر بہ فکر آشیانہ[270]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 29)

Protest against Materialism

Once again Iqbal protests against the materialism of the West. With bitterness he says about Western thinkers

ز آثار بدن گفتند جاں را[271]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 49)

It is to be pointed out that, in Iqbal's opinion, most of the ills of the Western world spring from its bifurcation of the essential unity of Man into body and spirit and its emphasis on the primacy of the physical.

The Realization of *Ana'l-Haqq*

Iqbal thinks that the Ideal Nation is that which realizes in action the experience implicit in *Ana'l-Haqq* ("I am the Creative Truth"). Both the Individual and the Nation are called to the Vicegerency of God and hence both must become God's co-workers and participate in His creative activities. Iqbal says:

میان امّتاں والا مقام است
که آں امّت دو گیتی را امام است
نیا ساید ز کار آفرینش
که 'خواب' و 'خستگی' بروے حرام است![272]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 98)

Importance of the Qur'an

For Iqbal, Religion is meaningful only if it is actively lived. Islam has degenerated, he thinks, because the Muslims have hearkened to the preaching of their uninspired teachers and have cut themselves off from the true source of life-giving wisdom–the Qur'an. His satire is directed at the shackles of mere formalism in Religion. He says:

به بند صوفی و ملّا اسیری
حیات از حکمت قرآں نگیری
بآیاتش ترا کارے جز ایں نیست
که از 'یسین' او آساں بمیری[273]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 101)

Iqbal would have liked to teach his co-religionists to see everything, including their faults "in a mirror made of the Qur'an."[274] He asks the Daughters of the 'Millat'

تو میدانی که سوز قرات تو
دگرگوں کرد تقدیر عمر را[275]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 133)

Evaluation of Rumi

In Rumi, Iqbal sees the two poles of Divine Power–*Jalal* or *Kibriya'i* (Majesty) and *Jamal* or *Dilbari* (Beauty). Iqbal often calls Rumi, *kibriya*, which literally means 'magnificent' or 'grand'. This attribute refers to the most important difference which Iqbal found between Rumi's active mysticism and the enervating, quietistic mysticism of poets who lacked "the element of Divine Majesty in their *Weltanschauung*."[276] Of Rumi, Iqbal says:

جمال عشق گیرد از نے او
نصیبے از جلال کبریائی[277]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 106)

Man's Relationship to God

Iqbal expresses the mystic idea that knowledge of God is to be gained through self-knowledge.

اگر خواهی خدا را فاش بینی
خودی را فاش تردیدن بیاموز[278]

(*Arrnaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 154)

It is not easy to explain the relationship between God and Man. Man is distinct from God and yet he cannot exist without Him. Iqbal says:

خودی را از وجود حق وجودے
خودی را از نمود حق نمودے
نمیدانم که ایں تابنده گوهر
کجا بودے اگر دریا نبودے[279]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 173)

Union and Separation

The literature of mysticism is filled with records of pain occasioned by the separation of the lover and the beloved. As we have seen, Iqbal regards both desire and suffering as formative elements in the development of the ego, and they both result from separation. Separation, by causing an intensification of yearning, leads to a union of a higher order. Separation, in fact, says Iqbal, is "a station of the stations of union" and union, "one of the stations of separation.[280] 'Separation' and 'union' are, it is to be noted, another important contrast–pair in Iqbal's thought (other examples include *la* and *illa*; '*khalwat* and '*jalvat*').

Satan

In *Armaghan-e-Hijaz,* Iqbal depicts the Satan made of fire and the devils made of clay–the present–day politicians of Europe. Iqbal considers the devils of clay to be worse than Satan for they have not seen God and therefore lack the pride and grandeur of the fire–born Satan.

Attitude to Death

A well-known couplet from *Armaghan-e-Hijaz*

نشان مرد حق دیگرچه گویم
چو مرگ آید تبسم بر لب اوست[281]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 165)

Throws light on the attitude of the Man of God to death. Death for him is not the end, but the beginning, of life eternal. The moment of passing away is "as it had been for many Sufis of old, a moment of bliss, not of horror."[282]

Prayer

Prayer, for Iqbal, is not merely ritual prayer. It is Man's whole attitude to life. He says:

تب و تاب یکے الله اکبر
نه گنجد در نماز پنجگانه[283]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 208)

Iqbal is suggesting here that if the cry of "*Allah Akbar*" springs from the depth of one's soul, then it transforms Man's life in such a way that his awareness of God is not confined to the times of prayer, but becomes a permanent element in his being.

Deeds Not Words

In another attack on a fossilized religious system, Iqbal–referring to Hallaj the archetype of the supreme lover–suggests that real faith and love issues forth not in empty phrases but in actual deeds. He says:

نہاں اندردو حرفے سرّ کار است

مقام عشق منبر نیست، دار است[284]

(*Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 201)

The true lover does not merely preach, he actively pursues his beliefs. If in this pursuit he is called upon to make the highest sacrifice, he does so with the courage of the martyr–mystic. In other words, true love consists in serving the Lord without counting the cost.

Iqbal's Last Message

In *Armaghan-e-Hijaz,* Iqbal gave his last message to the world. In it he summed up what he believed to be the teaching of the Arabian Prophet. The book very appropriately bears the title "The Gift of Hijaz.: "Hijaz' as a symbol appears throughout Iqbal's poetry. It was for Iqbal, in his own life, a beacon light beckoning from afaran ideal which inspired his most moving and profound poetry.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Singh, I., *The Ardent Pilgrim,* pp. 82-84.

[2] Nicholson, R.A., *The Secrets of the Self,* p. 12.

[3] Singh, I., *op. cit.,* pp. 81-82.

[4] Inspired by the genius of the Master of Rum, I release the sealed book of secret lore.

His soul is the flaming furnace,
I am but as the spark that gleams for a moment,
The Master of Rum transmuted my earth to gold
And set my ashes aflame.
(translated by Nicholson, R.A., *op. cit.,* p. 9).
[5] Nicholson, R.A., *op. cit.,* p. ix.
[6] I have no need of the ear of Today,
I am the voice of the Poet of Tomorrow.
(translation by Nicholson, R.A., *op. cit.,* pp. 3-4).
[7] Nicholson, R.A., *op. cit.,* p. 4.
[8] O Saki! arise and pour wine into the cup,
Clear the vexation of time from my heart! (Nicholson, R.A., *op. cit.,* p. 7)
[9] Poetising is not the aim of the *Masnavi*
Beauty-worshipping and love-making is not its aim. (Nicholson, R.A., *Ibid,* p. 14)
[10] Iqbal quoted by Nicholson, R.A., *Ibid,* p. xvii.
[11] Because the earth is firmly based on itself,
The captive moon goes round it perpetually.
The being of the sun is stronger than that of the earth;
Therefore, is the earth fascinated by the sun's eye.
(translation by Nicholson, R.A., *Ibid,* p. 22)
[12] Life is preserved by purpose:
Because of the goal its caravan-bell tinkles.
(translated by Nicholson, R.A., *Ibid*, p. 23.
[13] Memon, K.P.S., "The Message of Iqbal", *The Indian Review,* Madras, 1925. Vol. 26, p. 508.
[14] Rise, O thou who are stranger to life's mystery,
Rise intoxicated with the wine of an ideal.
(translated by Nicholson, R.A., *Ibid*, pp. 26-27)
[15] Singh, I., *op. cit.,* p. 94.
[16] Nicholson, R.A., *op. cit.,* p. 28.
[17] I sowed mine eye in the field of Love
And reaped a harvest of the vision.
(translation by Nicholson, R.A., *Ibid,* p. 35).
[18] Happy the man who thirsting in the sun,
Does not crave of Khizr a cup of water!
His brow is not moist with the shame of beggary; He is a man still, not a piece of clay.

That noble youth walks under heaven
With his head erect like the pine.
Are his hands empty? The more is he master of him-self.
Do his fortunes languish? The more alert is he.
(translation by Nicholson, R. A., *Ibid.*, p. 41).

[19] Nicholson, R.A , *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[20] When the Self is made strong by Love
Its power rules the whole world.
Its hand becomes God's hand,
The moon is split by its figures (alluding to a well-known miracle of the Prophet. *The Qur'an 54 :* 1)
(translation by Nicholson, R.A., *The Secrets of the Self,* p. 43).

[21] Forster, E.M., "The Poetry of Iqbal", p. 804.

[22] Nicholson, R.A., *op. cit.*, p. *55.*

[23] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal,* p. 241.

[24] Nicholson, R.A., *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[25] Sweet is the world of phenomena to the living spirit,
Dear is the world of Ideas to the dead spirit.
(translation by Nicholson, R.A., *Ibid.*, p. 58).

[26] His witchery makes Life develop itself
And become self-questioning and impatient.
(translation by Nicholson, R.A., *Ibid.*, p. 63).

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

[28] His melodies steal firmness from thine heart,
His magic persuades thee that death is life. (*Ibid.*, p. 65)

[29] Singh, I., *op. cit.,* p. 86.

[30] Nicholson, R.A., *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

[31] Kashyap, S., "Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Friedrich Nietzsche", *The Islamic Quarterly,* London, 1955. Volume 2, No. 1, p. 184.

[32] Nicholson, R.A., *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[33] Iqbal's letter to Nicholson, R.A , "Asrar-e-Khudi–The Secrets of the Self", *The Quest,* London, 1921., p. 184

[34] Nicholson, R.A., *Ibid.*, p. 92.

[35] Life is the seed, and power the crop:
Power explains the mystery of truth and falsehood.
(translation by Nicholson, R.A., *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[36] I do not bid thee abandon thine idols.
Art thou an unbeliever? Then be worthy of the badge of unbelief!
O inheritor of ancient culture,

Turn not thy back on the path thy fathers trod!
If a people's life is derived from unity,
Unbelief too is a source of unity,
Thou that art not even a perfect infidel,
Art unfit to worship at the shrine of the spirit. (Nicholson, R. A., *Ibid.*, pp.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 130.
[39] Singh, I., *op. cit.*, p. 89.
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] Nicholson, R. A., *op. cit.*, p. 131,
[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 145-146.
[43] Nicholson, R. A., quoted by Singh, I. *op. cit.*, p. 81.
[44] Iyengar, R. A., *Indian Writing in English*, London, 1962, p. 37.
[45] Read, H., quoted by Anand, M. R., "The Poetry of Sir Muhammad Iqbal," p. 31.
[46] Anand, M. R., *Ibid.*, pp.32-33.
[47] Nicholson, R. A., *op. cit.*, p, viii.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. xxix.
[49] Singh, l., *op. cit.*, p. 94.
[50] Mohit Tabataba'i quoted by Irfani, K. A. H, *Iqbal Iraniyon ki Nazar Men*, Karachi, 1957, p. 79.
[51] Khan, Z. A., "A Voice from the East", *Iqbal Review*, April 1966, Volume VII. no 1, pp. 30-40.
[52] Menon, K. P. S., *The Message of Iqbal*, p. 506.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] Singh, I., *op. cit.*, p. 95.
[55] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[56] Haq, M. A., "Sir Mohammad Iqbal" *The Indian Review*, 1925, Volume 26, p. 788.
[57] Menon, K. P. S., *op. cit.*, p. 509
[58] Browne, E. G., "Notice of R. A. Nicholson's "The Secrets of the Self", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1921, p. 145.
[59] Singh, I. *op. cit.*, p. 84.
[60] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p. 101.
[61] Preface to *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.v.
[62] Schimmel, A. M., *Gabriel's Wing*, pp. 369-371.
[63] Browne, E. G., *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[64] Singh, I, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
[65] *Ibid.*
[66] Nicholson, R. A., *op. cit., p. xxx.*
[67] *Ibid.*, p. *ix*
[68] Arberry, A.J., *The Mysteries of Selflessness,* London, 1953. pp.2-4.
[69] When in the congregation he is lost
'Tis like a drop which, seeking to expand,
Becomes an ocean.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *The Mysteries of Selflessness,* p. 5).
[70] Singh I., *op. cit.,* p. 99.
[71] Arberry, A. J., *The Mysteries of Selflessness,* p. 6
[72] Houben, J. J., "The Individual and Democracy in Iqbal's Conception of Khudi", *Crescent and Green,* London, 1955, pp. 154-155.
[73] Arberry, A. J., *op. cit.*, p. xi.
[74] *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, pp. 121-128.
[75] *Ibid.,* pp. 108-111.
[76] Arberry, A. J., *The Mysteries of Selflessness,* p. 9.
[77] Iqbal quoted by Vahid, S. A., *Iqbal, His Art and Thought,* p. 234.
[78] Schimmel, A. M., *op. cit.*, p. 86.
[79] Thou art a Muslim. do not bind thy heart,
To any clime, nor lose thyself within
This world dimensionate. The Muslim true
Is not contained in any land on earth,
Syria and Rum are lost within his heart.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *The Mysteries of Selflessness*. p. 307.
[80] Arberry, A. J., *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[81] *Ibid.*
[82] Schimmel, A. M., *op. cit.*, p. 234.
[83] Arberry, A. J., *op. cit.*, p. 44.
[84] Schimmel, A. M., *Gabriel's Wing,* p. 227.
[85] It is thy duty to recite the Book,
And therein find the purpose thou dost seek.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *op. cit.*, p. 39.)
[86] Schimmel, A. M., *op. cit.*, p. 227.
[87] Arberry, A. J., *op. cit.*, P. 41.
[88] Schimmel, A. M., *op. cit.*, p. 227.
[89] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[90] *Ibid., p.* 195.
[91] Arberry, A. J., *op. cit.*, p. 56.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[93] God counts this world the portion of good men,
Commits its splendours to believing eyes.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *op. cit.*, p. 57).
[94] What thing is history, O self-aware?
A fable ? Or a legendary tale?
Nay, 'tis the thing that maketh thee aware
Of thy true self, alert unto the task,
A seasoned traveller; this is the source
Of the soul's ardour, this the nerve that knit
The body of the whole Community.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *op. cit.*, p. 61)
[95] If thou lookest well,
Motherhood is mercy, being linked
By close affinity to Prophethood,
And her compassion is the Prophet's own
For mothers shape the way that men shall go;
Maturer, by the grace of Motherhood,
The character of nations is; the lines
That score that brow determine our estate.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *The Mysteries of Selflessness*)
[96] Arberry, A. J., *Ibid.*, p. 64.
[97] Schimmel, A. M., *op. cit.*, p. 157.
[98] Arberry, A. J., *op. cit.*, p. 82.
[99] *Ibid.* p. 81.
[100] *Ibid.*, p. xi.
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] *Ibid*, p. xii.
[103] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp. 93-10I.
[104] Nicholson, R. A., "Iqbal's 'Message of the East' " *Islamics*, Lipsiae, 1924-25. Volume I, p. 114.
[105] Take to the Sufis pure this word from me:
"Ye seek for God, and know all subtlety,
Yet will I serve the man who worships Self
And in the light of Selfhood, God cloth see."
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *The Tulip of Sina'i*, London, 1947, p. 26).

[106] And if the Brahman, preacher, biddeth us
Bow down to idols, furrow not thy brow :
Our God Himself, who shaped an image fair,
Bade Cherubim before an idol bow.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *Ibid.,* p. 24).
[107] If of his colour, blood, and veins and skin
The Arab boasts—an Arab be no more!
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *Ibid.,* p. 17)
[108] Arberry, A. J., *Ibid.,* p. *x.*
[109] Singh, I., *op. cit.,* p. 120
[110] *Ibid.* p. 115.
[111] *Ibid.* p. 113.
[112] Step forth a little faster: our destination is not far.
[113] We move and journey on.
[114] Kiernan V. G., *Poems from Iqbal,* p. 93.
[115] My journey has no end tor it is death for me to linger.
[116] *4, Paym-e-Mashriq,* p. ll.
[117] Come take from me a little of my Passion's pain,
And under the skies build a lasting Paradise.
From the first we have kept each other company
We are the treble and base of one grand harmony
(translated by Hussain, H., *A Message from the East,* Karachi, 1971, p. 57).
[118] Vahid, S. A,, *Studies in Iqbal,* p. 64.
[119] I asked a lofty sage what life must be.
"The wine whose bitterest cup is best," said he.
Said I, "A vile worm rearing its head from mire."
Said he, "A Salamander born of fire!"
"Its nature steeped in evil," I pursued.
Said he, "Tis this evil that makes it good."
"It wins not the goal, though it aspire."
"The goal," said he, "lies hid in that desire."
Said I, "Of earth it comes, to earth it goes"
Said he, "The seed bursts the earth, and is the rose."
(translation by Hamid, K. A., "Iqbal's Philosophy of Human Ego." *The Visvabharati Quarterly,* Santiniketan, 1944, Volume IX, November 4, p. 305).
[120] Taseer, M. D., "Iqbal and the Ghazal", *The Pakistan Quarterly, April* 1949, Volume I, number 1, p. 28.

[121] Taseer, M. D., "Iqbal and the Ghazal", p. 28.
[122] That charming glance coquettish which first took away my heart
May you live long–I yearn and pine for your pointed dart.
[123] Not worshipping the Apparent, I tore down the Idol-House, that rapid wave I am which all impediments sweeps aside.
The Intellect had doubts about my Being or Non-Being,
but Love made clear the subtle point-namely, that I AM.
[124] Nicholson, R. A., "Iqbal's Message of the East" pp. 119-120.
[125] A hen which by means of its ardour lays eggs without the cock's help!
[126] *Stray Reflections*, p. 11.
[127] Iqbal quoted by Schimmel, A. M., *op. cit.,* p. 322.
[128] By the Self the seed of opposition is sown in the world:
It imagines itself to be other than itself.
(translation by Nicholson, R. *A, The Secrets of the Self,* pp. 16-17)
[129] Thilly, F., *A History of Philosophy,* New York, 1931, p. 121.
[130] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p. 121.
[131] Schimmel, A M., *op. cit.,* p. 322.
[132] One night I was engaged in teasing out
The knots of Hegel's philosophic thought,
Which tore the veil of transient, finite things,
Laying bare the Infinite, the Absolute,
And whose conception's grand, imposing range
Made the world shrink into a tiny mole.
When I plunged into that tempestuous sea,
My mind became just like a storm-tossed boat.
But soon a spell lulled me to slumber and
Shut out the finite and the infinite.
My inner vision sharpened, I observed
And old man whose face was a godly sight
"You sleep," said he, "Awake, awake! To ply
A boat in a mirage is folly's height.
You're bidding wisdom guide you on love's path! You're looking for the sun by candle-light!"
(translated by Husain, H., *A Message From the East,* pp. 109-110).
[133] *Payam-e-Mashriq,* pp. 234-235.
[134] Schimmel, A. M., *op. cit.,* p. 234.
[135] Nicholson, R. A,, "Iqbal's 'Message of the East' " p. 122.
[136] Burn thyself in the fire of that Nimrod, for the garden of

Abraham is produced from fire.
(translation by Nicholson, R. A., *op.cit*., p.122).
[137] Nicholson, R. A., *op.cit*., p. 122.
[138] If thou wouldst read Life as an open book,
Be not a spark divided from the brand.
O thou by vain imaginings befooled,
Get thee a Reason which the Heart hath schooled
(translation by Nicholson, R. A., *op.cit*., p. 122).
[139] You saw the spirit in the bosom swell,
You saw the pearl still forming in the shell.
Love's mystery not everyone can read,
This holy threshold few are fit to tread.
"The blest initiates know and need not prove–
From Satan logic and from Adam Love."
(translation by Nicholson, R. A. *op.cit*., p. 114)
[140] Payam-e-Mashriq, pp. 255-256.
[141] *Ibid*. pp. 257-358.
[142] Marek, J., quoted by Ahmed S. F., Review of "*Payam-e Mashriq in Czech*", *The Islamic Culture,* January 1963, Volume XXXVII, Number 1, p. 68
[143] The airs of Shirin are never without a buyer
If it is not Khusrau, it is Farhad!
[144] Nicholson, R. A., *op.cit*., p. 120.
[145] To the end that wars may cease on this old planet, the suffering peoples of the world have founded a new institution.
So far as I see, it amounts to this: a number of under-takers have formed a company to allot the graves.
(translation by Nicholson, R. A., *op.cit*., p. 121).
[146] Schimmel, A. M., *Gabriel's Wing,* p. 45.
[147] *Ibid*.
[148] Iqbal's Preface to *Payam-e-Mashriq* (translated by Hasan, M. Mohammad Iqbal) p. 11.
[149] *Ibid*.
[150] O breeze take this message from me to the wise men of the West:
That Intellect since it opened its wings has become more of a prisoner.
For Love strikes the heart like lightning while Intellect only domesticates it.

Love is more brave than Intellect, that practiser of deceits.
(translation by Singh, I., *The Ardent Pilgrim, pp.* 116-117).
[151] Nicholson, R. A., *op.cit*., p. 119.
[152] Singh, I., *op.cit*., pp. 190-110.
[153] *Ibid*., p. 109-110
[154] *Ibid.*, p. 170.
[155] *Ibid*.
[156] The East is waste and desolate
And West is more bewildered yet;
The ardent quest inspires no more,
Death reigns supreme the whole world o'er. (Translation by Arberry, A. J. *Persian Psalms*, Lahore, 1961, p. 41)
[157] In Moslem mosque and church of Christ,
Incensed temple, tavern spiced,
Although a hundred charms were tried,
The heart was never satisfied.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *op.cit*., p. 140).
[158] Of the hireling's blood outpoured
Lustrous rubies makes the Lord;
Tyrant squire to swell his wealth
Desolates the peasant's tilth.
Revolt, I cry! Revolt, defy! Revolt, or die!
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *op.cit*., p. 86).
[159] *Zabur-e-'Ajam,* pp: 134-135.
[160] Arberry, A.J., *Aspects of Islamic Civilization,* London, 1964, p. 378.
[161] Arberry, A. J., Preface to *Persian Psalms*, p. vi.
[162] *Ibid.* p. vii.
[163] Browne, E. A. *A Literary History of Persia*, p. 146.
[164] *Ibid.*, p. 147.
[165] Hussain, H., *The New Rose-Garden of Mystery and the Book of Slaves,* Lahore, 1969, p. 26; *Zabur-e-'Ajam,* p. 225.
[166] Dar, B.A., *Iqbal's Gulshan-i Raz-i Jadid and Bandagi Namah*, Lahore, 1964, p. 41.
[167] Hussain, H. *op. cit.*, p. 32; Zabur-e-'Ajam, p. 230
[168] *Ibid.*, p. 16; *Zabur-e-'Ajam,* p. 232.
[169] Schimmel, A. M., *op. cit.*, p. 346.
[170] Massignon, L., quoted by Schimmel, A.M., *Ibid.* p. 346.
[171] Dar, B.A., *op.cit*., p. 53.

[172] A breath, if it is burning bright,
Can set a lamp alight.
There is a needle which can mend a rent
In the cloak of the firmament.
(translation by Hussain, H. *op. cit.,* p. 144).
[173] *Ibid.,* p. 44; *Zabur-e-'Ajam,* p 24
[174] When a Moses from himself departs,
his hand bedims, his staff becomes a rope.
[175] His pure nature is the measure of ugly and beautiful, and his Art is a reflection of ugly and beautiful.
[176] Zabur-e-'Ajam, p. 261.
[177] They took Eternity and, stone by stone,
Built it into those monument of theirs
To moments of creattve energy.
The sight of their creations makes your mind
Mature and shows to you another world.
(translation by Hussain, H., *op. cit.,* p. 64)
[178] Love is enough
For all—for insects, animals and men.
"Love by itself suffices both the worlds."
Divorced from power, charm is sorcery;
Combined with power, it is prophethood.
Love makes both charm and power work for it:
It pools two worlds into a single one.
(translation by Hussain, H, *op. cit.,* p. 66)
[179] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit.,* p. 49.
[180] If you have ardour then—in solitude—read *Persian Psalms (Zabur-e-'Ajam)*
a melody without a core that midnight cry is not,
[181] Singh, I., *op. cit.,* p. 168.
[182] Schimmel, A.M., (Book Review) "Bausani, A. Poesie di Muhammad Iqbal," *Die Welt des Islams,* Leiden, 1958. Volume V, p. 282.
[183] Arberry, A.J., *Javid Nama,* 1966. p. 12.
[184] Schimmel, A.M., "The Ascension of the Poet," *Mohammad Iqbal,* Karachi, 1961, p. 31.
[185] Arberry, A.J., *Javid Nama,* p. 12.
[186] Thou gavest me reason, give me madness too,
Show me the way to inward ecstasy.

1 am a momentary thing : make me eternal,
Out of my earthiness make me celestial.
(translation by Arberry, A.J., *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24).
[187] Schimmel, A.M., "The Ascension of the Poet", p. 38.
[188] *Ibid*.
[189] The lustre of a handful of earth one day shall outshine the creatures of light; Earth through the star of his destiny one day shall be transformed into Heavy-n.
(translation by Arberry, A.J, *op. cit.*, p. 26)
[190] The call to prayer signalizes the two kinds of birth,
The first is uttered by the lips, the second by the very soul
(translation by Arberry A.J., *Javid Nama,* p. 31)
[191] *Ibid.*, p. 33; *Javid Nama,* p. 20.
[192] Singh, I., *op. cit.,* pp 190-191.
[193] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit.*, p.39.
[194] Bausani, A., "Dante and Iqbal," *Crescent and Green,* London, 1955, p.164.
[195] Schimmel, A.M., "The Javidname in the Light of the Comparative History of Religions," *The Pakistan Quarterly,* Karachi, Winter 1956. Volume IV, p.32.
[196] *Ibid*.
[197] Ghaffar, A., "The Divine Comedy of Modern India," *Contemporary India,* (Number 2), Lahore, 1936, p.256.
[198] Schimmel, A.M., "The Javidname in the Light of the Comparative History of Religions," *op. cit.*, p.32.
Self-display–that is the very secret of life,
Life is to test out one's own striking-power.
(translation by Arberry, A.J., *Javid Nama,* p.49)
[199] The cheek's beauty lives for a moment, in a moment is no more;
The beauty of action and fine ideals—that is something.
(translation by Arberry, A.J., *op. cit.*, p.47)
[200] Self-display—that is the very secret of life,
Life is to test out one's own striking-power.
(translation by Arberry, A.J., *op. cit.,* p.49)
[201] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit.,* p.327.
[202] *Ibid.,* p.328.
[203] His breath restored the departed soul to the body
You make the body a mausoleum for the soul.
(translated by Arberry, A.J., *op. cit.*, p.51).

[204] Singh, I. *op. cit.*, p.193.
[205] Bausani, A., *op. cit.*, p.164.
[206] The soul of both is impatient and intolerant,
Both of them know not God, and deceive mankind.
One lives by production, the other by taxation
And Man is a glass caught between these two stones,
The one puts to rout science, religion, art,
The other robs of soul, the hand of bread. I have perceived both drowned in water and clay,
Both bodily burnished, but utterly dark of heart.
(translation by Arberry, A.J., *op. cit.*, p.57)
[207] Bausani, A, *op. cit.*, p.169.
[208] Knowledge without Love is a thing Satanic,
[209] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit.*, p.39.
[210] Our time has come, O ancient gods!
Knowledge with Love is a thing divine.
[211] Schimmel, A.M., *Gabriel's Wing*, p.263.
[212] Singh, I., *op. cit.*, p.195.
[213] *Ibid.*, p.197.
[214] This world without beginning is without end;
Where is the Lord protector of traitors?
(translation by Arberry, A.J., *op. cit.*, p.109).
[215] No Gabriel, no paradise, no houri, no God,
Only a handful of dust consumed-by a yearning soul.
(translation by Arberry, A.J., *op. cit.*, p. 111).
[216] The destinies of nation are shaped by a song,
By a song nations are destroyed and rebuilt.
(translation by Arberry, A.J., *op.cit*., p.122).
[217] Prostrate yourself before the Law of action's reward,
For from action are born Hell, Purgarory and Paradise. (translation by Arberry A.J., *op. cit.*, p.124)
[218] Schimmel, A.M., "The Javidname in the Light of the Comparative History of Religions," *op. cit.*, p.39.
[219] Arberry, A.J., *op.cit*., pp.133, 217
[220] *Javid Nama*, p.217.
[221] Create unity of thought and action,
That you may possess authority in the world.
(translation by Arberry, A.J., *Javid Nama*, p.139)
[222] Singh, I., *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201.

[223] Schimmel, A.M., "The Ascension of the Poet," p.44.
[224] Singh, .1., *op. cit.,* pp 188-189.
[225] Bausani, A., *op. cit.,* p. 169.
[226] Arberry, A.J., Preface to *Javid Nama,* p.12.
[227] Sharif, M.M., *About Iqbal and His Thought,* p:8.
[228] What is Religion? To discover the Secrets of the Self;
Life is Death without an apprehension of the Self;
The warp and woof of all Creation comes from Unity,
And within this world the source of Life is Unity.
[229] The son of Azar has built the Ka'ba,
with his glance he has turned clay into elixir;
You must build Selfhood within your body
turning your own dust-handful into elixir.
[230] Desire is the treasure of the king and nobleman desire is the world-revealing cup of the mendicant.
[231] What good fortune that your dust received a haven here
in this land which is free from the Frankish magic spells;
Kabul is better than Delhi a thousand, thousand times,
"for that old woman is the bride of a thousand grooms"
[232] Schimmel, A.M., *Gabriel's Wing,* p.371.
[233] Iqbal quoted in *Ibid.,* p.372.
[234] He drew back the veil from the visage of Faith,
my fancy revealed the believer's destiny.
We have both leai t from the wisom of the Qur'an–
He spoke of God and 1 of the Men of God.
[235] *Musafir,* p. 22
[236] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit.,* p.2.
[237] *Ibid.*
[238] *Ibid.*
[239] *Ibid.,* p.226.
[240] There are still a hundred worlds hidden in the Qur'an.
–In its verses, once at least, let your Self aglow.
[241] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit.,* p.55.
[242] 'Ali, C.M., "What Ails the Spirit of the East", *Iqbal,* July 1952., Volume I, number 1, p.l.
[243] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit.,* p.55.
[244] From the Dominion of Love, I raise an army fresh,
for there is danger of Intellect's mutiny in the sanctuary
this reality the world seems not to comprehend–

frenzy is a raiment which befits the intellect.
Imagine not the Intellect no final reckoning has-
the glance of a Man Devout is Doomsday for the Intellect.
[245] *Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq*? p. 7.
[246] When Prophethood proclaims and issues the commands of God
it then rejects the orders of the reigning Emperor,
an ancient temple is King's palace in the Prophet's eye
his self-honour takes no orders from what is not-God;
to have Power is the start of Love and Ecstasy,
to be Beloved the final goal of Love and Ecstasy!
[247] Schimmel, A.M., *Gabriel's Wing*, p.262.
[248] I have disclosed the wisdom of the Noble Men of God,
now know something of the cleverness of Evil Men.
The cleverness of Evil Men: cheating and craftiness, which means that they nurture the body by destroying the soul;
their cleverness is free from bounds set by Religion's Law,
they are distant, fallen, from the place of passion's quest;
such Men have desires-fleeting, wavering-in their heart,
it is as it they were born dead from their mother's wombs.
[249] Schimmel, A.M., *op.cit*., p.90.
[250] *Ibid.* p.140
[251] *Ibid.* p. 266
[252]*Ibid*. p 233.
[253] Tough due to Separation, mortal anguish you endure,
seek not a Union with Him but His Pleasure seek to win;
Mustafa has given the tidings of what pleases God,
besides this, there is nothing else within Religion's Laws.
[254] *Ibid*. p 233.
Pas Che Bayad Katd Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq? p. 46.
[255] *Ibid.* p.234.
[256] Iqbal quoted in *Ibid.* p.233.
[257] The Law of God originates within the depths of Life,
its luminosity lights up the darkness of the world.
[258] *Pas Che Bayad Katd Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq*? p. 46.
[259] *Ibid*., p. 53
(Chishti, Y.S., *Sharh Masnawi Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq? Ma*'*Musafir*, Lahore, 1957, p. 173.
[260] *Ibid*. p.56.
[261] O you who think soul from the body is separate,

this secular culture's magic charm transcend.
[262] Chishti, Y.S., *Sharh Masnawi Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq? Ma' Musafir,* Lahore, 1957, p. 173.
[263] *Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p.15.
[264] Of suffering and of sorrow I am not afraid but yet
give me not a woe which is unworthy of the heart.
[265] To the Shaikh, a starving disciple said
Of our condition God is unaware;
He is nearer to us than our jugular vein
but not nearer to us than is our stomach!
[266] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit.*, p.79.
[267] *Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 81.
[268] From Destiny's face I have removed the veil, do not despair and follow Mustafa's way.
[269] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit*., p.171.
[270] In this old age I took the way to Yathrib,
chanting songs by Love's rapture inspired;
like that bird which in desert at even-tide opens its pinions in quest for the nest.
[271] They have called the soul a result of the body
[272] That nation is of high rank among nations
Which is the leader of this world and that;
it ceases not in its creative work,
for 'sleep and slumber' are forbidden to it.
[273] You have fallen in the bondage of the Sufi and the Mulla,
you find not Life's source within the wisdom of Qur'an;
you have nothing to do with its verses excepting this–
to use Sura Yasin to make dying easier!
[274] *Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 102.
[275] Know you your ardent recital of the Qur'an
does transform the destiny of Omar.
[276] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit.*, p.361.
[277] The loveliness of Love gets from his reed
a portion of the Majesty of God.
[278] If you desire to see God revealed more clearly, learn, your Selfhood, then, to see.
[279] The Self derives its life from God's existence,
its appearance is due to God's manifestation;
I do not know where this resplendent gem

would be if there was no ocean (to hold it)
[280] *Armaghan-e-Hijaz*, p. 172.
[281] What is the sign of a Man of God?
When death comes, a smile plays on his lips.
[282] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit.*, p.276.
[283] One "Allahu Akbar's" glow and brightness is not contained in the five ritual prayers,
[284] Within two words is Action's secret hid:
Love's place is not the pulpit but the gibbet.

IN SUMMATION

The foregoing pages contain a brief review of each of Iqbal's major writings. While attempting to touch upon all the important points in the individual works, the chief focus of this work has been on highlighting those concepts and ideas which are philosophically significant. It is beyond the scope of this book to work out the philosophical implications of these concepts and ideas or to rearrange them in a philosophic system. However, in order to give the reader some understanding of the interrelationship between different concepts and ideas, a summary of Iqbal's philosophy as a whole is given below.

For Iqbal, the fundamental fact of Man's life is the absolute and irrefutable consciousness of his own being. His philosophy is often described as the philosophy of the Self and it is true that "the Self is at once the starting and the basic point of his thought. It is the Self which affords him a high road to metaphysics because it is the intuition of the Self which makes metaphysics possible for him."[1] Iqbal goes so far as to say:

منکر حق نزد ملّا کافر است
منکر خود نزد من کافر تر است[2]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 239)

Iqbal regards the advent of Man on earth as a great and glorious event, not as an event signifying Man's sinfulness and degradation. He points out that according to the Qur'an, the earth is the "dwelling-place" of Man and a "source of profit to him" and that he is not a stranger to it.[3] Iqbal does not think that having been created by God, Man was placed in

a supersensual paradise from whence he fell on earth. The *Jannat* (Garden) from which Man was expelled is not regarded by Iqbal as the Heaven which is the eternal abode of the righteous, "the reward of those who keep their duty" (verse 13:35)[4] since the very first event which took place there was an act of disobedience. Iqbal regards the *Jannat* associated with the Fall of Man as "a primitive state in which Man is practically unrelated to his environments and consequently does not feel the sting of human wants."[5] It is a state of effortless bliss which Iqbal's restless spirit could relish no more than Milton's or Goethe's could.

For Iqbal, the purpose of the Qur'anic narration is not historical. i.e., it does not refer to a particular event which took place at a particular time since the Adam of the legend is a concept rather than an individual (Iqbal points out that Qur'an uses the word *Bashar* or *Insan* for Man, and uses "Adam" only to designate Man in his capacity as God's Vicegerent on earth)[6] Iqbal sees the Fall as symbolizing a transition from "a primitive state of instinctive appetite to the conscious possession of a free self, capable of doubt and disobedience...Man's transition from simple consciousness to the first flash of self-consciousness, a kind of waking from the dream of nature with a throb of causality in one's own being."[7] For Iqbal, Adam's story is not the history of the First Man but the ethical experience, in symbolic form, of every man.[8]

According to the Qur'an, in one sense, Man is of the earth, yet he is also of divine origin in that God has breathed His own spirit into him (verse 32:9). Following this, Iqbal holds, on the one hand, the divine creation of Man, and on the other the principle that Man has evolved from matter. It is possible to do this because in his thought there is no impassable gulf between matter and spirit. For him matter is endowed with such intrinsic powers that we should see "spirit" sleeping in matter, awakening in plants, awake in animals, self-conscious in Man,[9] and he says:

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جو ہے بیدار انساں میں وہ گہری نیند سوتا ہے
شجر میں، پھول میں، حیواں میں، پتھر میں، ستارے میں[10]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p.143)

Iqbal believes in the dynamic principle (whether it is called "soul," "life," "personality," "consciousness," or whatever else) within organisms. It is to this principle "that we owe our eyes, ears, hands, feet, nerves, brain, our physical everything. It simply called all our organs into being in response to stimuli or promptings from the Reality outside itself, i.e. Nature, which it wanted to interpret.[11] Iqbal expresses this idea thus:

کبک پا از شوخئ رفتار یافت
بلبل از سعئ نوا منقار یافت
دست و دندان و دماغ و چشم و گوش
فکر و تخیل و شعور و یاد و ہوش
زندگی مرکب چو در جنگاہ باخت
بہر حفظ خویش ایں آلات ساخت[12]

(*Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 17)

Man is not a mere episode or accident in the huge evolutionary process. On the contrary, the whole cosmos is there to serve as the basis and ground for the emergence and perfection of the Ego:

یہ ہے مقصد گردش روز گار
کہ تیری خودی تجھ پہ ہو آشکار[13]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p.174)

The universe has waited for Man for a long time

آیۂ کائنات کا معنئی دیر یاب تو
نکلے تری تلاش میں قافلہ ھائے رنگ و بو[14]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p.153)

And Life gains freedom at last in Man's self-consciousness

زندگی گفت که در خاک تپیدم همه عمر
تا ازیں گنبد دیرینه درے پیدا شد[15]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p.97)

Man's evolution has by no means come to an end. His destiny lies far beyond this world. He has to conquer worlds yet uncreated.

The purpose of life then is the development of the Self. In order that Man may achieve the fullest possible development of himself and his environment it is essential for him to possess knowledge. His "life and the onward march of his spirit depend on the establishment of connections with the Reality that confronts him. It is knowledge that establishes these connections".[16]

Following the Qur'an, Iqbal maintains that there are two sources of knowledge–the inner consciousness of Man (*anfus*) and the outer world of Nature (*afaq*). Iqbal also mentions the study of History as a source of knowledge.[17] "History or, in the language of the Qur'an, 'the days of God' is the third source of human knowledge...It is one of the most essential teachings of the Qur'an that nations are collectively judged and suffer for their misdeeds here and now. In order to establish this proposition the Qur'an constantly cites historical instances, and urges upon the reader to reflect on the past and present experience of mankind."[18] This third source of knowledge may be subsumed under the second source of knowledge, i.e., knowledge of the external world.[19]

Iqbal cannot be easily or exclusively classified as an "empiricist," "rationalist," or "intuitionist," since he combines sense-perception, reason and intuition in his theory of knowledge.[20] He defines knowledge as "sense-perception elaborated by understanding"[21] ("understanding" here does not stand exclusively for "reason" but for all non-perceptual modes of knowledge). There are two ways of establishing connections with the Reality that confronts us. The direct way

is by means of observation and sense-perception; the other way is through direct association with that Reality as it reveals itself within.[22]

Iqbal repeatedly points out the empirical attitude of the Qur'an which lays great emphasis on the observable aspects of Reality and holds that "the scientific observation of Nature keeps us in close contact with the behavior of Reality, and thus sharpens our inner perception for a deeper vision of it."[23] Iqbal compares the classical spirit, with its contempt for sense-perception and the Qur'an "which sees in the humble bee a recipient of Divine inspiration and constantly calls upon the reader to observe the perpetual change of the winds, the alternations of day and night, the clouds, the starry heavens and the planets swimming through infinite space."[24] The cultures of the ancient world failed, says Iqbal, because their approach to Reality was entirely introspective as they moved from within outwards. This gave them theory without power and on mere theory no durable civilization can be based.[25]

Turning to "reason," we find that Iqbal distinguishes between "logical understanding" which has a sectional nature and "the deeper movement of thought" which is identical with intuition. He frequently points out (particularly in his poetry) the limitations of the former but this does not mean that he was anti-rationalist or anti-intellectual. Iqbal cites enthusiastically the Qur'anic verses (2: 28, 31) which state that Man's superiority over angels lay in his power to "name" things, i.e., to form concepts. Concepts are not abstract logical entities. They are based on, and indissolubly linked with, facts of sensation.[26] It is the knowledge of things and their inherent nature that exalted Man over celestial creatures and it is only through an unceasing struggle to attain the knowledge of things that Man can maintain his superiority with justice in the world[27]. Without discursive "intellect," science would be impossible and without science very little progress would be made in the material sphere. Iqbal believed strongly in the power and utility of science and constantly called for nimble intellects" necessary for scientific

attainment. In *Javid Nama*, he points out

قوت افرنگ از علم و فن است
از ہمیں آتش چراغش روشن است
علم و فن را اے جوان شوخ و شنگ
مغزمی باید نہ ملبوس فرنگ
فکر چالاکے اگر داری بس است
طبع درّاکے اگر داری بس است[28]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 209)

Though Iqbal recognizes and emphasizes the importance of science he does not regard science as the measure of all things. "Science seeks to establish uniformities of experience i.e., the laws of mechanical repetition. Life with its intense feeling of spontaneity constitutes a centre of indetermination and thus falls outside the domain of necessity. Hence science cannot comprehend life."[29] Iqbal criticizes the purely intellectual method of approaching Reality because it does not take account of feelings, purposes and values. In his opinion, the predicament of the modern Man is that his life is "wholly overshadowed by the results of his intellectual activity and he has ceased to live soulfully, i.e., from within", [30] having been cut off from the springs of life.

Like the existentialists, Iqbal sounds a warning that an idolatrous attitude towards reason and science leads in the direction of dehumanisation.[31] He points out (as mystics of all times have done) that while reason can enable Man to mould his physical and social environment, it cannot liberate him from the prison-house of his own confusions and doubts. Another limitation of "thought" is that "its operation being essentially symbolic in character veils the true nature of life and can only picture it as a universal current flowing through all things. The result of an intellectual view of life therefore, is necessarily pantheistic."[32] In other words, since science works out its end through symbols which are in essence

general, its result is deindividualization.[33]

In Iqbal's philosophy, great emphasis has been laid on "intuition" as a mode of knowledge. The word "intuition" is derived from a verb which means "looking at," and its extended use seems to have originated as a metaphor from sight.[34] "It would stand, presumably, for a mental inspection in which a direct revelation is made to the mind, comparable to the direct revelation which accompanies the exposure of a physical object to the eye."[35] The traditional philosophical meaning of "intuition" is knowing with absolute certainty, or knowing in such a way that there is no room for doubt.

Kant in showing the limitations of pure reason had also demonstrated the impossibility of "intuitive" experience without which metaphysics and religion are not possible. But paradoxically enough, in proving the relativity of the finite objects of experience to the intelligence, he also showed "though without himself being fully conscious of it, and almost, we might say, against his will, that we cannot admit the validity of the empirical consciousness without admitting the validity of the consciousness of that which, in the narrower sense of the word, is beyond experience."[36] It can be seen clearly from his Lectures that Iqbal is very anxious to show the possibility and validity of the intuitive consciousness. If intuitive experience is possible then it follows that both metaphysics and religion are possible.

Kant had rejected the possibility of metaphysics because it dealt with that which could not be systematised by the categories of space and time and therefore, in his opinion, could not constitute knowledge. But supposing, says Iqbal, that there is more than one kind of space and one kind of time, then it is quite possible that there are other levels of human experience capable of being systematised by other orders of space and time–levels in which concept and analysis do not play the same role as they do in the case of our normal experience"[37] Iqbal agrees with Kant in regarding space and time as subjective but he does not look upon them as unvarying modes into which all our knowledge is moulded.

Rather they admit of new meaning in relation to various grades of experience and their import varies as psychic powers increase or decrease.[38]

More has probably been written on the apparent conflict between reason and intuition (or between '*aql* or *'ilm* and *'ishq*) in Iqbal's works than on any other aspect of his thought. Yet there is no doubt that "as a philosopher...Iqbal has given intellect its full right besides the intuitional experience."[39] He went so far as to say that thought and intuitions are organically related.[40] If reason and intuition are organically related it follows that neither can function alone but both must operate together.[41] In its deeper movement, thought becomes almost identical with intuition (which, following Bergson, Iqbal describes as a higher kind of intellect)[42] In its narrower sense, reason may be contrasted with intuition, but only in the way in which analysis-synthesis may be opposed as complementary processes within a developing whole of thought.[43] The basic relationship between reason and intuition remains unaltered since intuition is always found in intimate relation to the reasoning process, never in sheer opposition to it.[44]

In Iqbal's judgment, both reason and intuition are necessary for the fulfillment of human destiny and both must be employed to grasp the fullness of life. To see the self only in the state of concentrating its power of making itself a pearl or diamond is as to see it exclusively in its exterior activity.[45] Iqbal has criticized Ghazzali for abandoning reason and regarding mystic intuition as the only true source of the knowledge of Ultimate Reality. Yet when everything has been said about Iqbal's defence of reason and the importance he gave to it, his fundamental position is–at least in one sense–not very different from Ghazzali's. As Professor Whittemore remarks, "At the heart of Iqbal's philosophy lies the existentialist conviction that Reality is inexpressible purely in terms of reason and science. This is not to deny the import of these latter. Whatever view of Man, Universe and God we ultimately arrive at, it must, Iqbal thinks, be one in

which the data of science are accounted for, one in which the demands of reason and coherence are met. Yet below and above the level of science there is that which Man knows simply because he feels it and intuits it."[46]

Iqbal holds then (with Bradley, Whitehead, Ibn 'Arabi, Ghazzali, Rumi and others) that it is through intuition that the Ultimate is known. The experience which leads to this gnosis is not a conceptually manageable intellectual fact; it is a vital fact–an attitude consequent on inner biological transformation which cannot be captured in the net of logical categories.[47] Iqbal, following the Qur'an, calls this vital way *Iman* which is not merely a passive belief in one or more propositions of a certain kind, it is a living assurance begotten of a rare experience.[48]

In Iqbal's poetry, scientific knowledge is equated with '*aql* (reason) and mystic knowledge with '*ishq* (love). The former is usually equated with the West and the latter with the East. Love, interpreted in the mystic vein, is seen as "a condition of humble access, a life-movement of the self: more direct in its methods, more valid in its results even in the hands of the least lettered of its adepts than the most piercing intellectual vision of the greatest philosophical mind."[49] Iqbal believes that the Poet inspired by Love has a more direct and intimate access to Reality than the Metaphysician and that Love leads to *nazar* (vision) while Reason can yield only *khabar* (information). He also maintains that it is Love and not Reason which leads to life-giving and life-renewing action. Reason is cautious, calculating, cowardly, waylaid by a thousand doubts, but Love dares and risks all. Iqbal "struggles mercilessly against that Intellect which is separated from Love"[50] because he regards such Intellect as being allied to Satan and forces of evil, magic and idolatry. In *Payam-e-Mashriq*, he quotes Rumi's famous line: "From Satan logic and from Adam love,"[51] Iqbal often refers to the mind as a creator of idols and to Love (sometimes shown as Abraham breaking the idols of his father) as the destroyer of all that stands in the way of God. Love, in effect, becomes the

criterion for faith

اگر ہو عشق، تو ہے کفر بھی مسلمانی
نہ ہو تو مرد مسلماں بھی کافر و زندیق[52]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p.54)

and the embodiments of Love remain while all else passes away. The Mosque of Cordoba, for instance, is a work of art created by hands of Love and its splendour shines across the ages. The whole poem–one of the most beautiful in all Iqbal's works–is a poem on the potency and efficacy of Love.

Starting with the intuition of the Self, Man becomes aware of the Not-Self, Nature confronts the Self as the "other" existing *per se* which the Self knows but does not make[53] and which provides a constant challenge for him. The Self develops when there is interaction between the ego and the non-ego. "The life of the ego is a kind of tension caused by the ego invading the environment and environment invading the ego. The ego does not stand outside this arena of mutual invasion. It is present in it as directive energy and disciplined by its own experience."[54] Iqbal does not deny the objectivity of Nature but he does deny the passivity of the knower. The human mind is not a *tabula rasa* on which external objects simply leave an impression. Referring to Einstein, Iqbal points out that the knower is intimately related to the object known and that the act of knowledge is a constitutive element in the objective reality.[55]

Iqbal describes Nature as an event rather than as a "thing". What we call things are events in the continuity of Nature which thought spatializes and thus regards as mutually isolated for purposes of action. The universe which seems to us a collection of things is not a solid stuff occupying a void. It is not a thing but an act.[56] Iqbal is supported in his view by modern relativity-physics which does not see matter as something which persists in time and moves in space but as a system of inter-related events. As Professor Whitehead points out about the new science, "in the place of the Aristotelian

procession of forms it has substituted the notion of the forms of process. It has swept away space and matter and has substituted the study of the internal relations within a complex state of activity."[57] In other words, the whole spatial universe has become a force or field of incessant activity. Thus for Iqbal, Reality is not something inert or given. It is a process of becoming.

Iqbal defines matter as "a colony of egos of low order out of which emerges the ego of a higher order when their association and interaction reaches a certain degree of coordination,"[58] and says that "every atom of Divine energy, however low in the scale of existence, is an ego. But there are degrees in the expression of egohood. Throughout the entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of egohood until it reaches its perfection in Man."[59] For Iqbal, God is the Ultimate Ego. According to Iqbal, the living God of the Qur'an is different from the purely intellectual God reached through the traditional arguments for the existence of God. He believes that it is through intuitive experience that one attains knowledge of God or the Ultimate Ego Who combines the Absolute of philosophy with the Person of the revealed scriptures. Since mystic experience is not "communicable" or "verifiable," in the usual sense of these words, Iqbal seeks to establish a basis for a "working proof" of God's existence. He refers to the theory of relativity according to which the object known is relative to the observing self. Its size and shape change as his position and speed change. But whatever the position and speed of the observer, whatever his frame of reference, something must always remain which confronts him as his 'other.'[60] Since there is nothing absolute in Nature, the Self which must always remain must be a non-spatial, non-temporal Absolute, in other words God. Royce, Rashdall, Ward and Green have expressed ideas similar to Iqbal's with regards to the question of God's existence.

In Iqbal's view, the universe does not confront the Absolute Self in the same way as it confronts the human self.[61] It is a fleeting moment in the life of God. "It is a

structure of events, a systematic mode of behavior and as such organic to the Ultimate Self. Nature is to the Divine Self as character is to the human self. In the picturesque phrase of the Qur'an, it is the habit of Allah."[62] Iqbal supports Einstein's view that the universe is finite but boundless, It is finite because it is a passing phase of God's extensively infinite consciousness, and boundless because the creative power of God is intensively infinite.[63] Nature has no external limits, its only limit is the immanent self which creates and sustains the whole.[64] According to Iqbal, the universe is liable to increase. He translates the Qur'anic words, *Inna ila rabbika al-muntaha* (verse 53:43) as "And verily towards God is thy limit." Professor Bausani comments: "This is a good instance of a characteristic of Iqbal, that of interpreting in modern terms some Qur'anic passages which no doubt mean something else if literally translated. So here it seems that a literal translation would amount simply to say that every being's end is in God, a return to God. However the metaphysical implications Iqbal wants to find in the verse are in no wise, in my opinion, contrary to the spirit of Qur'an."[65] Since Nature is organically related to the creative self, it can grow, and is consequently infinite in the sense that none of its limits is final–Nature is organically finite only towards the innermost essence of God.[66]

Iqbal's view of the relationship of the Ultimate Ego to the finite egos is panentheistic, panentheism being the doctrine that the world is not identical with God, nor separate from God, Who in His Divine nature transcends it. Elaborating upon this relationship, I.H. Enver says: "The Ultimate Ego holds the finite egos in His own Being without obliterating their existence. The Ultimate Reality must be regarded as of the nature of the self. But further this self does not lie apart from the universe, as if separated by a space lying between Him and ourselves. The Ultimate Self, therefore is not transcendent, as is conceived by the anthropomorphic theists. He is immanent, for He comprehends and encompasses the whole universe. But He is

not immanent in the sense of the pantheists of the traditional type, because He is a personal and not an impersonal reality...He is in short immanent and transcendent both, and yet neither the one nor the other. Both immanence and transcendence are true of the Ultimate Reality."[67]

Iqbal emphasises the individuality of the Ultimate Ego and referring to the Qur'anic verse: "God is the light of the heavens and of the earth. His light is like a niche in which is a lamp–the lamp encased in a glass–the glass, as it were, a star" (verse 24 : 35) observes, "No doubt the opening sentence of the verse gives the impression of an escape from an individualistic conception of God. But when we follow the metaphor of light in the rest of the verse, it gives just the opposite impression. The development of the metaphor is meant rather to exclude the suggestion of a formless cosmic element by centralizing the light in a flame which is further individualized by its encasement in a glass likened unto a well-defined star."[68]

For Iqbal then, God is a Person. He is an Ego also because He responds to our reflection and our prayer; for the real test of a self is whether it responds to the call of another self. In contrast to the classical conception of God, Iqbal also emphasizes the idea of a changing God.[69] For him, "the infinity of the Ultimate Ego consists in the infinite inner possibilities of His creative activity of which the universe as known to us, is only a partial expression. In one word, God's infinity is intensive, not extensive. It involves an infinite series, but is not that series.[70] Iqbal points out that we are "'to regard the act of creation as a specific past event, and the universe appears to us as a manufactured article... Thus regarded the universe is a mere accident in the life of God and might not have been created...from the Divine point of view, there is no creation in the sense of a specific event having a 'before' and 'after'."[71] Creation is a continuous and continuing process in time and God is constantly creative and dynamic.

According to Iqbal, the movement of the universe has a purpose but he does not believe that it is moving towards a

fixed destiny. "To endow the world process with purpose in this sense is to rob it of its originality and its creative character. Its ends are termination of a career; they are ends to come and not necessarily premeditated."[72] Iqbal believes in "immanent" teleology which may be said to be at work in the creative activity of an artist. The artist does have a purpose in that he wishes to create something, but the actual creation is not a mere transcribing of a pre-existent vision and is thus not a pre–determined product. In Iqbal's view "the universe is gradually traveling from chaos to cosmos,"[73] it has both a reason and a plan but the end like an ever-receding shore will forever remain in the future.

Iqbal distinguishes between two aspects of the Self–the efficient and the appreciative. The efficient self is that which is concerned with, and is itself partially formed by, the physical world.[74] It apprehends the succession of impressions, living as it were, 'outside itself...and, while retaining its unity as totality (it) discloses itself as nothing more than a series of specific and consequently numerable states."[75] The appreciative self is the deeper self of which one becomes aware only in moments of profound meditation when the efficient self is in abeyance.[76] The unity of the appreciative self is such that in it each experience permeates the whole. The multiplicity of its elements is unlike that of the efficient self, wholly qualitative. There is change and movement, but this change and movement are indivisible; their elements inter-penetrate and are wholly non-serial in character.[77]

Corresponding to the two aspects of the Self are the two levels of time–serial time and pure duration. Serial time is spatiallized or clock time whereas pure duration is a ceaseless continuous flow in which all things live and move and have their being. In his poetry, Iqbal often describes serial time as *zannar*, the magian's girdle. This symbol shows Iqbal's fine psychological insight–he could not yet foresee what H. Corbin proved many years later, namely, that the *zannar* is the typical Zarvanistic symbol.[78] Zarvan is the old Iranian God of Time. He is conceived as a sorcerer whose spell has to

be broken. The Man of God recognising the personal creative activity of God and realizing this power in his own self can break the spell of Zarvan by participating in God's time (or pure duration).[79] The Prophet's saying *li ma'a Allah waqt* (i.e. "I have a time with God") has become, as Professor Schimmel points out, "a leitmotif of Iqbal's whole thinking beginning from the *Asrar*."[80] Many mystics have expressed their experience through this profound tradition and have built upon it a whole edifice of mystical meanings of the word *waqt*. According to Hujwiri, *waqt* is that whereby a man becomes independent of the past and the future...he has no memory of the past and no thought of that which is not yet come."[81]

Iqbal regards the bifurcation of the essential unity of Man's life into the physical and the spiritual as sinful. According to him the relation between the body and soul is the same as the relation between the universe and God; the soul is the pure act, the body is only the act become visible and hence measurable. [82] The body is necessary for the expression and manifestation of the soul. Both have their life and significance when they are related to each other

تن زنده و جاں زنده ربط تن و جان است[83]

(*Zabur-e-'Ajam*, p. 117)

However, for Iqbal, the soul is more fundamental than the body since the latter owes its existence to the former which has its source in God [84] (verses 15:29, 32:9, 38:72)

Iqbal places great emphasis on human freedom and points out that the very conception of life as a creative movement involves the idea of freedom. "In fact all creative activity is free activity. Creation is opposed to repetition which is a characteristic of mechanical action."[85] Professor Bausani observes that "Man is a creator" could be given as the essence of Iqbal's philosophy of religion.[86] The Qur'an too, says Iqbal, admits the possibility of creators other than God when it describes God as the best of creators (verse 23:14)[87]

Iqbal points out that Islam recognises Man to be a centre of latent power in that he is capable of responding to or of rejecting God's guidance. "The truth is from your Lord; wherefor let him who will, believe, and let him who will, be incredulous." (verse 18:28)[88] As Man chooses so will he be requited. "If ye do well, yet will ye do well to your own souls; and if ye do evil, ye will do it unto the same" (verse 17:7).[89] Iqbal realises that freedom involves a great risk and responsibility and refers a number of time in his writings to verse 33:72

"We did indeed offer The Trust to the Heavens and the Earth

But they refused
To undertake it;
Being afraid thereof: But Man undertook it;–
He was indeed unjust
And foolish."[90]

Man is "the trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril."[91] The Qur'anic verse brings out with consummate beauty both the magnificence of Man's daring, his willingness to accept a gift which all other creation refused and his tragic failure to live up to the ideal through moral weakness.

Freedom is a condition of goodness but "to permit the emergence of a finite ego who has the power to choose...is really to take a great risk; for the freedom to choose good involves also the freedom to choose what is the opposite of good. That God has taken this risk shows His immense faith in Man; it is for Man now to justify this faith."[92] Iqbal points out that according to the Qur'anic narration, Adam's first transgression was forgiven because his first act of disobedience was also his first act of free choice.[93] It is the risk involved in freedom of choice which makes it possible to test and develop the potentialities of Man. As the Qur'an says: "And we will prove you with evil, and with good, for a trial of you" (verse 21:33)[94]

Iqbal points out that Islam has rejected the idea of redemption according to which one individual can bear the

sins and burdens of others.[95] He finds the independent moral responsibility of each human being "expressed clearly in the Qur'an when it states that each individual 'shall come to Him (the Divine Judge) on that Day (the Day of Judgment) singly' (verse 19:25). 'No soul shall labour but for itself and no one shall bear another's burden' (verse 5:164). 'For its own works lieth every soul in pledge' (verse 74:41)"[96]

Iqbal is vehemently opposed to the doctrine of Qismat which embodies "a most degrading type of fatalism."[97] He sees Destiny not as "an unrelenting fate working from without like a taskmaster; it is the inward reach of a thing, its realizable possibilities which lie within the depths of its nature, and serially actualize themselves without any feeling of external compulsion."[98] Professor Bausani observes, "If the centre of the spirituality of the Qur'an is–and it is–the personality of God, then, however paradoxical it may seem, Iqbal's judgment is true that there is nothing further from the Qur'an than the feeling of a predetermined universe."[99] Also, the very essence of religious experience–prayer and repentance–does not postulate a closed universe in which God is fettered or Man predetermined either by omnipotence or omniscience.[100]

Iqbal believes ardently that "Man...is maker of his own destiny."[101] The key to one's destiny lies in one's character. "Character," says Iqbal, "is the ultimate equipment of Man since it is from character that all actions flow:[102] He constantly refers to the Qur'anic verse, "Verily God will not change the condition of men, till they change what is in themselves." (verse 13:12) and says that if Man "does not take the initiative, if he does not evolve the inner richness of his being, if he ceases to feel the inward push of advancing life, the spirit within him hardens into stone and he is reduced to the level of dead matter."[103] It is Iqbal's own passionate, promethean spirit which speaks through the Voice of Beauty in these resounding lines from *Javid Nama*

زندۂ؟ مشتاق شو خلّاق شو
ہمچو ما گیرندۂ آفاق شو
در شکن آنرا کہ ناید ساز گار
بندۂ آزاد را آید گراں
زیستن اندر جہان دیگراں
ہر کہ او را قوّت تخلیق نیست
پیش ماجز کافر و زندیق نیست
از جمال ما نصیب خود نبرد
از تخیّل زندگانی بر نخورد
مرد حق برندہ چوں شمشیر باش
خود جہان خویش را تقدیر باش[104]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 225)

One important question arises from Iqbal's view of freedom of the will and destiny: how is Man's freedom of choice compatible with the idea of God's will which plays such an important part in Islamic belief? For Iqbal, resignation to God's will–*tawwakul*–is not mere acceptance of what is inevitable, but is the result of *Iman*, the vital experience of making the world our own.[105] Only "strong personalities are capable of rising to this experience and the higher fatalism implied in it."[106] This "higher fatalism" does not look upon the affairs of the world as a fortuitous concomitation of atoms, but recognises the all-embracing activity of the wise and loving Creator.[107] In a remarkable passage in *Javid Nama*, Hallaj, the martyr-mystic, explains the true meaning and significance of submission to God

جبر دین مرد صاحب همت است
جبر مرداں از کمال قوّت است
پختہ مردے پختہ تر گردد ز جبر

جبر مرد خام را آغوش قبر
کار مردان است تسلیم و رضا
بر ضعیفاں راست ناید ایں قبا
اے کہ گوئی بودنی ایں بود، شد
کارھا پابند آئیں بود، شد
معنئی تقدیر کم فہمیدۂ
نے خودی را نے خدا را دیدۂ
مرد مومن با خدا دارد نیاز
با تو ما سازیم تو با ما بساز
عزم او خلاّق تقدیر حق است
روز ہیجا تیر او تیر حق است[108]

(*Javid Nama*, pp.141-142)

Despite his insistence on human freedom, Iqbal has nowhere asserted that Man is completely free. Only God–the Ultimate Ego–possesses perfect freedom. In several verses Iqbal has pointed out that when there is a conflict between *taqdir* (Divine decree) and *tadbir* (human design), the latter is unable to do anything.[109] Explaining his position on this point to Professor Nicholson, Iqbal says in a letter that the ego is "partly free, partly determined, and reaches fuller freedom by approaching the Individual who is most free–God. In one word, life is an endeavour for freedom."[110]

This view is based on the Prophetic tradition, "Faith lies between necessity and freedom." Man is subject to God's will but since "God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God virtually amounts to Man's loyalty to his own ideal nature."[111]

In Iqbal's opinion, Man's mission on earth is not only to win greater freedom for himself but also to gain immortality. He thinks of immortality not as "a state" but as "a process."[112] Life offers "a scope for ego-activity and death is the first test of the synthetic activity of the ego."[113] Personal immortality

is an aspiration which can be realized if one adopts "in this life modes of thought and activity which tend to maintain the state of tension...if our activity is directed towards the maintenance of tension the shock of death is not likely to affect it."[114] Thus, for Iqbal "it is the deed that prepares the ego for dissolution, or disciplines him for a future career."[115]

Iqbal does not regard immortality as Man's inalienable right guaranteed by his faith.[116] "Personal immortality," he says, "is not ours as of right; it is to be achieved by personal effort. Man is only a candidate for it.[117] Iqbal's belief in conditional immortality is regarded by one writer as "a serious deviation from the orthodox teaching that is based on the Qur'anic vision of the life beyond. Islam and Christianity consider the ego immortal as such and make its state in the Hereafter depend on what it does here and now."[118] Another, writer, however, notes the emphasis placed by the Qur'an on the importance of Man's efforts in the direction of immortality. "Those who do wish for the hereafter, and strive therefore with all due striving, and have faith–they are the ones whose striving is acceptable" (verse 17 : 19)[119] It has been observed by Profesor Schimmel that Iqbal's ideas on immortality find support also in the works of many Western philosophers. (For instance, Pannwitz writes, "if immortality is equal to the preservation of what is eternal in Man, then it is unthinkable that men should be immortal in the same manner. In many of them there may be nothing eternal which would be worthy of immortality.")[120]

Iqbal, then, regards death as the end of the weak but not of the self-fortified ego which is aware that "we are timeless, and it is possible to realize our timelessness even in this life."[121] Death is the last serial event but it is not the culmination of the struggle for immortality. For Iqbal, resurrection and immortality are not external events, they are accomplished within the Self and are "the consummation of a life process within the ego;" death is only a kind of passage to what the Qur'an describes as *Barzakh*.[122] *Barzakh* (a concept which interested Iqbal throughout his life) "does not seem to

be merely a passive state of expectation; it is a state in which the ego catches a glimpse of fresh aspects of Reality, and prepares himself for adjustment to these aspects."[123] The ego, therefore, does not relax even in *Barzakh*.

Iqbal does not regard Heaven and Hell as localities, but states of the spirit. Hell is the painful realization of one's failure as a Man and Heaven the joy of triumph over the forces of disintegration.[124] For Iqbal, Hell is not "a pit of everlasting torture inflicted by a revengeful God; it is a corrective experience which may make a hardened ego once more sensitive to the living breeze of Divine Grace. Nor is Heaven a holiday; the recipient of Divine illumination is not merely a passive recipient. Every act of a free ego creates a new situation, and thus offers further opportunities of creative unfolding."[125] The journey of the ego does not end even in paradise. Iqbal finds the idea of a static paradise and an eternity of restful pleasure quite unbearable

گر نجات ما فراغ از جستجوست
گور خوشتر از بہشت رنگ و بوست[126]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 30)

for

دل عاشقاں بمیرد به بہشت جاودانے[127]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 149)

Man is the chosen of God (verse 20:14)[128] but he must pass through many trials and tribulations before he qualifies for the Vicegerency of God. To the Traveller on the Path, Iqbal says:

نه مارا پخته پنداری که خامیم
بهر منزل تمام و ناتمامیم
بپایاں نارسیدن زندگی است
سفر ما را حیات جاودانی است[129]

(*Zabur-e-'Ajam*, P. 231)

The quest of Man is not to become God or Superman but to become a Man. "True religion," says R. G. Collingwood "lies not in making God in our images but in making ourselves in God's Image."[130] The Tradition "Create in yourself the attributes of God" is the watchword of Iqbal's thought.

Since the ego, according to Iqbal, "has the quality of growth as well as the quality of corruption," it can expand to absorb the elements of the universe and the attributes of God,"[131] or degenerate to the level of matter.[132] In his writings, particularly in *Asrar-e-Khudi*, Iqbal speaks of the factors which strengthen or weaken the ego. A brief account of these factors is given below.

Throughout Iqbal's writings, great stress is placed on Desire (to which Iqbal refers by several names such as *soz*, *hasrat*, *justuju*, *arzu*, *ishtiyaq*, *tamanna*) as the source from which the Self draws its fire and zest. Desire is a creative power even when it remains unfulfilled since fulfilment of desire is "at the same time, extreme happiness and the end of happiness. The separation is overcome but without separation there is no love and no life."[133]

Iqbal places great emphasis "on the value of Love… for strengthening the Self."[134] In fact, as Peter Avery says, Iqbal's philosophy is essentially a philosophy of Love.[135] Like Ghazzali and Rumi before him, Iqbal preached a philosophy of dynamic love leading to the fulfilment of human destiny as well as God's purpose in creation.[136] For him, Love is the fundamental urge of Being, its *élan vital* and its *raison d'etre*. Love alone is an intrinsic value; all other values are extrinsic and instrumental and are to be judged according to their capacity for the realization of this primary value. Love is the only categorical imperative and the true measure of faith

ز رسم و راه شریعت نکرده ام تحقیق
جز اینکه منکر عشق است کافر و زندیق[137]

(*Zabur-e-ʻAjam*, p. 160)

It is to be noted, however, that Iqbal's conception of Love differs significantly from the conception of Love commonly found in the tradition of Persian and Urdu poetry.

Iqbal's lover is not the eternally-lamenting, rather pathetic creature so oft encountered in anthologies of Urdu verse. Iqbal associates Love with kingdom and dominion rather than with tears and ignominy. Like Tillich, Iqbal thinks that "the power of a being is its possibility to affirm himself against the non-being within it and against it. The power of a being is the greater the more non-being is taken into its self-affirmation."[138] Love is that which assimilates, which consolidates and fortifies; therefore "Love is the foundation, not the negation, of power."[139]

Iqbal believes that Love is that which "individualizes the lover as well as the beloved"[140] and conceives the relationship between God and Man to be based on an aggressive love, "a love that compels the object loved into union. The lover is not to say, "I am yours, do what you like with me; but you are mine attune your will to mine."[141] Iqbal denies vehemently that the end of Love is *fana* when "the self 'passes away' from itself"[142] and maintains that the Ideal Person retains his self-possession even in the case of a direct contact with the all-embracing Ego. He refers[143] to the Prophet's vision of the Ultimate Ego, quoting the Qur'anic verse "his eyesight turned not aside, neither did it wander" (verse 53:17)[144] to show that the Perfect Man can stand before God without being annihilated. Like Tillich, Iqbal believes that "the centre of a completely individualized being cannot be entered by any other individualized being, and it cannot be made into a mere part of higher unity."[145] In his judgment, rather than losing oneself in God as a drop loses itself in the ocean, "the true person absorbs God into his ego,"[146] *i. e.*, "we do not enter God's unity, but rather make Him enter the unity of our selves."[147] According to E. M. Forster, "Iqbal's mysticism does not seek union with God. We shall see God perhaps; we shall never be God."[148] Passionately as he loves God, Iqbal

would not seek even a vision of God if it means self-annihilation

اگر نظارہ از خود رفتگی آرد حجاب اولے
نگیرد با من ایں سودا بہا از بس گراں خواہی[149]

(*Zabur-e-'Ajam*, p. 60)

The word *faqir* (or its synonym *qalandar*) and *faqr* (or *istighna*) appear very frequently in Iqbal's verse. Iqbal uses *faqr* to denote an inner attitude of detachment and superiority to material possessions. "It is a kind of intellectual and emotional asceticism which does not turn away from the world as a source of evil and corruption but uses it for the pursuit of good and worthy ends."[150] For Iqbal, a *faqir* is not a monk or ascetic who has renounced the material world and lives a life of abstinence and self-denial, cut off from the rest of mankind. The *faqir* undergoes all the trials and tribulations arising from a daily encounter with the temptations that the flesh is heir to. His life is not calm like the green of the meadows but is always stormy like the rough waves in mid-ocean. Because a *faqir* is not enslaved by anything and is free of all except God, he possesses true power and dominion

فقر مومن چیست؟ تسخیر جہات
بندہ از تاثیر او مولا صفات[151]

(*Pas Che Bayad Kard Ai Aqwam-e-Sharq*?, p. 26)

Another factor which strengthens the Self is what Iqbal calls *sayyadi* which literally means "hunting." In Iqbal's thought where so many words find a new connotation, *sayyadi* comes to denote a kind of heroic idealism based on daring, pride and honour. The *sayyad* is most often symbolised by the lion, and the falcon (*shahin*), the emblems of royalty. A *sayyad* lives dangerously, disdaining safety or ease (Iqbal often points out that a *shahin* makes no nest but lives in the open skies or on the top of wind-blown mountains). He has the courage to create out of the fire and depth of his own soul and imitates neither Nature nor other

men. He has a code of honour, is truthful and bold and unfamiliar with the ways of deceit and cunning

آئین جواں مرداں حق گوئی و بیباکی
اللہ کے شیروں کو آتی نہیں روباھی[152]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 83)

Suffering is associated with all the factors strengthening the Self, but it needs special emphasis. Iqbal stresses the importance of suffering for the maturing of the soul. He observed, "No religious system can ignore the moral value of suffering";[153] and the following words of Nietzsche (with whom he has an affinity in many ways) might have been his own: "The discipline of suffering–know ye not that it is only this discipline that has produced all the elevations of humanity hitherto? The tension of soul in misfortune which communicates to its energy, its shuddering in view of rack or ruin, its inventiveness and bravery in undergoing, enduring, interpreting and exploiting misfortune, and whatever depth, mystery, disguise, spirit, artifice, or greatness has been bestowed upon the soul has it not been bestowed through suffering"?[154]

That wisdom comes through suffering and sorrow is a thought often repeated. Keats wrote, "Do you not see how necessary a world of pains and troubles is to school an Intelligence and make it a Soul? A place where the heart must feel and suffer in a thousand diverse ways?"[155] For Iqbal too "Suffering is a gift from the gods in order to make Man see the whole of life."[156] In memorable lines, he says

جہانبانی سے ہے دشوار تر کار جہاں بینی
جگر خوں ہو تو چشم دل میں ہوتی ہے نظر پیدا[157]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 299)

Rumi often uses the symbols of rue and aloe–wood exhaling sweet perfumes when burnt.[158] Iqbal too wishes to be burnt–to be tried by fire–not only because his soul's agony would perfect his art but also because it would endear him to

God

تو بچا بچا کے نہ رکھ اسے، ترا آئینہ ہے وہ آئینہ
کہ شکستہ ہو تو عزیز تر ہے نگاہ آئینہ ساز میں[159]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 314)

Forbearance, tolerance and courtesy were also values stressed by Iqbal. He said, "The principle of the ego-sustaining deed is respect for the ego in myself as well as in others".[160] Iqbal believed that real tolerance is "begotten of intellectual breadth and spiritual expansion. It is the toleration of the spiritually powerful man who, while jealous of the frontiers of his own faith, can tolerate and even appreciate all forms of faith other than his own…only a true lover of God can appreciate the value of devotion even though it is directed to gods in which he himself cannot believe."[161] Iqbal refers to the deep compassion which the Prophet showed towards his enemies[162] and says repeatedly that a leader of men must be as worthy of affection as he is of obedience. His Ideal Man is no ruthless Superman, imposing his will on others. He is gentle and compassionate, kind and courteous in speech and manner

نگہ بلند، سخن دلنواز، جاں پر سوز
یہی ہے رخت سفر میر کارواں کے لیے[163]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 74)

Important amongst the factors which weaken the Self, is *su'al* which literally means "asking." Iqbal uses the term in several ways. All forms of *su'al* amount to beggary; even a son living on the expectation of an inheritance from his father is a beggar. In Iqbal's opinion, that which is not earned with the labour of one's hands and heart–even if it is the whole world–is not worth having. Another form of *su'al* is *taqlid* (imitation). Iqbal points out that if there had been any virtue in imitation then God's chosen ones would also have followed the beaten path. One must not borrow another's thoughts or follow another's road, and so Iqbal urges

تراش از تیشۂ خود جادۂ خویش[164]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 62)

Iqbal's most powerful and most moving attack against all form of *su'al* comes in *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi* when he lashes out against his co-religionists who have lost all sense of their Selfhood, and have sunk all their pride and self-respect in a life of superficiality and spiritual bankruptcy

علم غیر آموختی اندوختی
روئے خویش از غازہ اش افروختی
ارجمندی از شعارش می بری
می ندانم تو توئی یا دیگری
از نسیمش خاک تو خاموش گشت
و ز گل و ریحاں تہی آغوش گشت
کشت خود از دست خود ویراں مکن
از سحابش گدیۂ باراں مکن
عقل تو زنجیرئ افکار غیر
در گلوے تو نفس از تار غیر
بر زبانت گفتگو ھا مستعار
در دل تو آرزو ھا مستعار
آں نگاھش سر "ما زاغ البصر"
سوئے قوم خویش باز آید اگر
"لست منّی" گویت مولائے ما
وائے ما اے وائے ما اے وائے ما
می شناسد شمع او پروانہ را
نیک داند خویش و ہم بیگانہ را[165]

(*Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, pp. 186–187)

Iqbal has devoted one whole section of *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi* to the theme that despair, grief and fear are the sources of all

evil and destroyers of life.[166] Despair strikes at the very roots of life and causes utter impotence. Referring to verse 39:54, Iqbal says

مرگ را ساماں ز قطع آرزو ست
زندگانی محکم از "لاتقنطوا" است[167]

(*Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, p. 108)

Grief is of two kinds–one that makes the Self grow strong with compassion, insight and fortitude, the other which breeds feelings of anxiety and futility and lays waste the sinews of the Self

یک غم است آں غم که آدم را خورد
آں غم دیگر که بر غم را خورد[168]

(*Zabur-e-'Ajam*, p. 252)

The latter must be overcome, and referring to verse 9:40, Iqbal says:

اے که در زندان غم باشی اسیر
از نبی تعلیم "لا تحزن" بگیر[169]

(*Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, p. 109)

Being without fear is one of the most outstanding chacteristics of the Ideal Person. Iqbal says, "The principal fact which stands in the way of Man's ethical progress is, according to Islam, neither pain, nor sin, nor struggle. It is fear to which Man is a victim owing to his ignorance of the nature of his environment and want of absolute faith in God. The highest stage of Man's ethical progress is reached when he becomes absolutely free from fear and grief...The ethical ideal of Islam is to disenthral Man from fear, and thus to give him a sense of his personality, to make him conscious of himself as a source of power."[170] Man must overcome fear if he is to become God's deputy on earth, for all the principal forms of vice can be reduced to fear."[171]

ہر شر پنہاں کہ اندر قلب تست
اصل او بیم است اگر بینی درست
لابہ و مکاری و کین و دروغ
این ہمہ از خوف می گیرد فروغ
پردۂ زور و ریا پیراہنش
فتنہ را آغوشہا در دامنش
ہر کہ رمز مصطفی فہمیدہ است
شرک را در خوف مضمر دیدہ است[172]

(*Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, pp. 110-111)

Since to Iqbal, freedom is "the very breath of vital living"[173] servitude must necessarily appear to be life-retarding and self-degrading. In a section of *Zabur-e-'Ajam* entitled "Bandagi Nama" ("The Book of Servitude") Iqbal speaks in detail about the attitude and mentality of those who live in spiritual bondage. With the sadness of the Biblical verse: "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?[174]

دین و دانش را غلام ارزاں دہد
تا بدن را زندہ دارد جاں دہد
تن ستیز از مستئ مہر ملوک
جان پاک از لاغری مانند روک[175]

(*Zabur-e-'Ajam*, pp. 258-261)

Iqbal considers *nasab-parasti*, which means pride in one's lineage or caste, to be one of the reasons for the downfall of the Muslims. This attitude is to be discouraged in all forms as it is in opposition to one of the fundamentals of Islamic polity–namely, the equality and brotherhood of Man. To those who take pride in their stock, Iqbal poses a bitter

rhetorical question

یوں تو سیّد بھی ہو، مرزا بھی ہو، افغان بھی ہو
تم سبھی کچھ ہو، بتاؤ تو مسلمان بھی ہو؟[176]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 220)

According to Iqbal, the education of the Self has three stages characterized by Obedience, Sel-Control and Divine Vicegerency. In the first stage, "religious life appears as a form of discipline which the individual or a whole people must accept as an unconditional command without any rational understanding of the ultimate meaning and purpose of that command."[177] Iqbal, like Nietzsche, likens the Self at this stage to a camel known for "its obedience, utility and hardihood."[178] He believes that without obedience to the Law there can be no liberty. He who would command the world must first learn to obey.

The second stage in the education of the Self is when it is able to command itself. "Perfect submission to discipline," says Iqbal "is followed by a rational understanding of the discipline and the ultimate source of its authority. In this period religious life seeks its foundation in a kind of metaphysics–a logically consistent view of the world with God as part of that view".[179] In the second stage of the ego's development, Man does not merely obey the Law, but also perceives its rationality. He sees, for instance, that prayer protects him from many evils, that fasting enhances the powers of physical and moral endurance, and that the pilgrimage to Mecca teaches separation from the place of one's birth and lessens the attachment to a specific territory or land.

The third stage in the development of the Self is *niyabat-e-Ilahi* (the Vicegerency of God). Although Man is the highest creation, yet "not Man as he is now, but Man purified through obedience, self-dominion, and detachment can reach the high station of...Divine Vicegerency."[180] Iqbal describes the Perfect Man in superlatives. "He is the completest Ego,

the goal of humanity, the acme of life both in mind and body; in him the discord of our mental life becomes a harmony. This highest power is united in him with the highest knowledge. In his life, thought and action, instinct and reason, become one. He is the last fruit of the tree of humanity, and all the trials of a painful evolution are justified because he is to come at the end. He is the real ruler of mankind; his kingdom is the kingdom of God on earth."[181]

Iqbal points out that "the development of humanity both in mind and body" is a condition precedent to the birth of the Perfect Man who, for the present, "is a mere ideal."[182] The signs, however, are hopeful, since "the evolution of humanity is tending towards the production of an ideal race of more or less unique individuals who will become his fitting parents."[183]

It is important to emphasise the point that though Man is the pivot around which Iqbal's philosophy revolves, yet "his revaluation of Man is not that of Man *qua* Man, but of Man in relation to God."[184] His Perfect Man is the Servant of God; in fact, the degree of his servitude to God is the measure of his perfection. In *Javid Nama*, Hallaj elaborates upon the mystic significance of being God's Servant

پیش او گیتی جبیں فرسودہ است
خویش را خود عبدہ فرمودہ است
عبدہ از فہم تو بالا تر است
زانکہ او ہم آدم و ہم جوہر است
جوہر او نے عرب نے اعجم است
آدم است و ہم ز آدم اقدم است
عبدہ صورت گر تقدیر ہا
اندرو ویرانہ ہا تعمیر ہا
عبدہ ہم جانفزا ہم جانستاں

عبده ہم شیشه ہم سنگ گراں
عبد دیگر عبده چیزے دگر
ما سراپا انتظار او منتظر
عبده دہر است و دہر از عبده ست
ما ہمه رنگیم او بے رنگ و بوست
عبده با ابتدا بے انتہاست
عبده را صبح و شام ما کجا ست
کس ز سر عبده آگاه نیست
عبده جز سر "الا الله" نیست
"لا اله" تیغ و دم او عبده
فاش تر خواہی بگوہو عبده
عبده چند و چگون کائنات
عبده راز درون کائنات[185]

(*Javid Nama*, pp. 149-150)

Belief in the One Living God is the core around which Iqbal has built his philosophical system. He sees the principle of *Tauhid* reflected both in the unity of human life and in the socio-political structure of Islam. Iqbal often uses the negation (*la*) and the affirmation (*illa*) contained in the *kalima* (*La ilaha illa Allah*–"There is no god but God") to signify that human life advances by means of the dialectical tension between negation and affirmation. Negation must precede affirmation for, as Soderblom says: "But 'No' is also needed. Without 'No' there will be no proper 'Yes'. For then all that denies and destroys, degrades and delays what is right and good would be allowed to remain unattached and unabolished. That is why a 'No' is necessary in the moral warfare of the individual, in the evolution of religion and in the history of the race."[186] But negation must be followed by

affirmation, else having broken all the idols one would be left in a world with no God (this, according to Iqbal, is the case with Nietzsche and Russia). In his message to the Russian people Jamaluddin Afghani says in *Javid Nama*

کردۂ کار خداونداں تمام

بگذر از "لا" جانب "الا" خرام

در گذر از "لا" اگر جویندۂ

تا رہ اثبات گیری زندۂ[187]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 88.)

The implications of the principle of *Tauhid* when applied to the collective life of the Muslims, are worked out in considerable detail in *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi.* Iqbal points out that the unity of the Muslims is not dependent on ties of country or kinship, but on the principle of Divine Unity, which is a "formative factor for the unity of mankind."[188] "The essence of 'Tauhid' as a working idea," says Iqbal, "is equality, solidarity and freedom." Islam does not recognise the "tyrant overlordship" of either "the sceptred monarch" or "the surpliced priest."[189]

Iqbal also applies the Unity of God to the unity of the mind and body. The ideal *millat*, in Iqbal's view, beginning from the principle of *Tauhid* recognises the organic unity of Man's life and does not seek to bifurcate it into mutually exclusive compartments–either in individual life or in collective life. Because it preserves the wholeness of life, creative *Tauhid* produces both outstanding individuals and nations

فرد از توحید لاہوتی شود

ملت از توحید جبروتی شود[190]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 226)

Iqbal realizes, not without sorrow, that "the pure brow of the principle of *Tauhid* had received more or less an impress of heathenism, and the universal and impersonal character of

the ethical ideals of Islam has been lost through a process of localization."[191] The fact that in his own career as a political thinker Iqbal rejected this "process of localization," shows that for him the ideas implicit in his creed were a living force–a practical not just a theoretical necessity. Explaining Iqbal's "hasty retreat from pure Nationalism," Halide Edib observes with insight: "To whatever political creed the Muslem may belong, his ultimate loyalty must be to the One God who cannot be symbolised by material objects or by ideas. This point was best expressed by the Muslem members of the 'Front Populaire,' in the French colonies. They lifted their fists like the rest of their comrades, giving the sign of their political creed, but added to it the lifting of their index finger to the sky. The last is the sign common to all Muslims: 'There is no god but one God...' is always said with that gesture meaning God to be above and beyond all terrestrial ideas and symbols."[192]

Biographers of Iqbal note his passionate devotion to the Prophet of Islam who translated the principles deriving from God's Unity and Sovereignty into terms of actual living, and whom Iqbal reverences above all as "the Prophet of action."[193] To Iqbal, Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) is the Perfect Man *par excellence* who has achieved the highest degree of *'abdiyyat* (service of God). In his writings Iqbal presents different aspects of the Prophet's life and work emphasizing his most notable aspirations, attitudes and attributes. For instance, the Prophet was a constant seeker of knowledge

گرچه عین ذات را بے پردہ دید
"رب زدنی" از زبان او چکید[194]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 6)

Apart from the Unity of God, the Islamic *millat* bases its solidarity upon the person and teachings of the Prophet. Not only is love of the Prophet a great unifying force, but the pillars of Islamic democracy–freedom, equality and fraternity –may be found in the way of life which he practised. In *Javid*

Nama, his arch-enemy Abu Jahl is shown lamenting

سینۂ ما از محمد داغ داغ
از دم او کعبه را گل شد چراغ
از ہلاک قیصر و کسری سرود
نوجواناں را ز دست ما ربود
ساحر و اندر کلامش ساحری است
ایں دو حرف "لااله" خود کافری است
مذہب او قاطع ملک و نسب
از قریش و منکر از فصل عرب
در نگاه او یکے بالا و پست
با غلام خویش بر یک خواں نشست[195]

(*Javid Nama*, pp. 58–59)

Iqbal interprets the Prophet's *hijrat* (migration) from Mecca to Medina as signifying that a Muslim is not bound to a strip of land. "Islam," says Iqbal, "appeared as a protest against idolatry and what is patriotism but a subtle form of idolatry; a deification of a material object...what was to be demolished by Islam could not be made the very principle of its structure as a political community. The fact that the Prophet prospered and died in a place not his birth-place is perhaps a mystic hint to the same effect.'[196] The Muslim's ideal, according to Iqbal, is to be as free as the scent of the rose or the breeze and to look upon the whole world as holy ground

تا ز بخششہائے آں سلطان دیں
مسجد ما شد ہمه روئے زمیں[197]

(*Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, p. 131)

The Prophet's *mi'raj* (Ascension to the Seventh Heaven) is one of the central themes in Iqbal's poetry, and he insists

that the *mi'raj* is "more than a mere religious dogma."[198] "The historian", Iqbal says, "may rest satisfied with the conclusion that the Muslim belief in the Prophet's Ascension finds no justification in the Qur'an; yet the psychologist who aims at a deeper view of Islamic culture cannot ignore the fact that the outlook given by the Qur'an to its followers does demand the story as a formative element in the world-picture of Islam."[199]

The motif of the Ascension may be interpreted in a cosmological or in a psychological sense.[200] It can indicate the fact that in the moment of ecstasy the spirit can see and comprehend the attributes of the created universe before reaching the Essence beyond, or it can refer to the different stages of spiritual discipline through which the faithful must pass (as he must pass through the seven spheres) before he can be granted a "vision" of God.[201] The Ascension has become the prototype of the spiritual journeys of the mystics; underlying this spiritual journey is the definite idea that the traveling self in undertaking the journey is fulfilling a destiny, a law of transcendental life."[202] Since Rumi interprets the Ascension as a psychological experience, Iqbal is justified in making him speak of the Ascension in terms of a "new birth" in *Javid Nama.*[203] For Iqbal, the Ascension is also the supreme test of personality. It is the confirmation of the perfection of the Self, for only a perfectly-integrated Self can withstand disintegration in the Presence of God. Iqbal says:

چیست معراج آرزوئے شاہدے
امتحانے روبروئے شاہدے
شاہد عادل کہ بے تصدیق او
زندگی ما را چو گل را رنگ و بو
در حضورش کس نماند استوار
در بماند ہست او کامل عیار[204]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 14)

Ascension, then, is an experience as intense and dangerous as it is sublime.

Iqbal adhered staunchly to the idea of the finality of Muhammad's (p.b.u.h.) prophethood for, in his opinion, this "is really the factor which accurately draws the line of demarcation between Muslims and non-Muslims and enables one to decide whether a certain individual or group is part of the community or not... According to our belief Islam as a religion was revealed by God, but the existence of Islam as a society or nation depends entirely on the personality of the Holy Prophet."[205]

Iqbal also gives a philosophical reason for justifying the orthodox belief that there would be no more prophets after Muhammad (p.b.u.h.). "The Prophet of Islam," he says, "seems to stand between the ancient and the modern world. In so far as the source of his revelation is concerned he belongs to the ancient world; in so far as the spirit of his revelation is concerned he belongs to the modern world. In him life discovers other sources of knowledge suitable to its new direction. The birth of Islam...is the birth of inductive intellect. In Islam prophecy reaches its perfection in discovering the need for its own abolition. This involves the keen perception that life cannot for ever be kept in leading strings, that in order to achieve full self-consciousness, man must finally be thrown back on his own resources. The abolition of priesthood and hereditary kingship in Islam, the constant appeal to reason and experience in the Qur'an, and the emphasis that it lays on Nature and History as sources of human knowledge, are all different aspects of the same idea of finality.'[206] With Muhammad (p.b.u.h.) then, prophecy felt "the need for its own abolition" because he brought the method of free, personal enquiry which made further revelations unnecessary. Each man has the way clear for him now, if he wishes, to experience God and understand the Way for himself."[207]

Since the relation between Man and God is a personal one, there is great emphasis put on prayer in the thought of

Iqbal. Prayer is the living ground and basis of religion and in Iqbal's conception of prayer we find the keystone of all his religious ideas.[208] Following a Prophetic Tradition according to which "every time of prayer was an Ascension and a new nearness to God,"[209] Iqbal regards prayer as a contact between Man and God by means of which the soul transcending the bounds of the efficient self becomes eternal in its love and longing for God. "Prayer in Islam," says Iqbal, "is the ego's escape from mechanism to freedom."[210] The timing of the daily prayers saves the ego from the mechanizing effect of sleep and business.[211] The routine of mechanical living atrophies the freedom and freshness of the human soul and deadens its awareness of deeper Reality. Ritual prayer leads to liberty because it restores "self–possession" to the ego by bringing it into closer touch with the Ultimate Source of life and freedom.[212] Prayer co-ordinates all the elements that make Man a personality–thought, will and emotion–through their relation to a dominant purpose.[213] Prayer is the activity of the whole Man–an activity through which he apprehends his high destiny and stretches towards it.[214] It is the way to the fullness of life.

Iqbal believes that the spirit of all true prayer is congregational and that when a group of persons, all animated by the same passion and concentrating on the same object, join in prayer, such an association "multiplies the normal man's power of perception, deepens his emotion, and dynamizes his will to a degree unknown to him in the privacy of his individuality."[215] In other words, associative prayer enhances human sensibility. Referring to verse 2:177, Iqbal says that the direction towards which one turns one's face while praying "is certainly not essential to the spirit of prayer"[216] but the choice of one particular direction in Islamic worship does serve a useful purpose. The *Ka'ba* becomes a symbol of Muslim unity and figures very significantly both in the act of pilgrimage and in the act of prayer (which Iqbal calls "a lesser pilgrimage").[217] Another important social function that prayer performs is that it "creates and fosters the

sense of social equality in as much as it tends to destroy the feeling of rank or race-superiority in the worship."[218] In other words, it equalizes all. In classic lines, Iqbal says

ایک ہی صف میں کھڑے ہو گئے محمود و ایاز
نہ کوئی بندہ رہا اور نہ کوئی بندہ نواز
بندہ و صاحب و محتاج و غنی ایک ہوئے
تیری سرکار میں پہنچے تو سبھی ایک ہوئے[219]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 174)

Iqbal regards prayer as a life-attitude and says, "An act is temporal or profane if it is done in a spirit of detachment from the infinite complexity of life behind it, it is spiritual if it is inspired by that complexity."[220] In other words, whatever tends to make explicit to Man the consciousness of God and sharpens awareness of his relation to Ultimate Reality, is prayer. In any case, says Iqbal, the loving ardour of the faithful is not confined to fixed forms of prayer

ره دیر تختهٔ گل ز جبین سجده ریزم
که نیاز من مگنجد بدو رکعت نمازے[221]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 177)

According to Iqbal, "The truth is that all searches for knowledge is essentially a form of prayer. The scientific observer of Nature is a kind of mystic seeker in the act of prayer."[222] The act of prayer, in so far as it aims at knowledge, resembles reflection. "Like reflection it too is a process of assimilation, but the assimilative process in the case of prayer draws itself closely together and thereby acquires a power unknown to pure thought. In thought the mind observes and follows the working of Reality; in the act of prayer it gives up its career as a seeker of slow-footed universality and rises higher than thought to capture Reality itself."[223]

Iqbal regards prayer as instinctive in origin and says, in picturesque language, that "prayer...is an expression of man's

inner yearning for response in the awful silence of the universe."[224] And response there is, Iqbal believes, for God has promised, "Call Me and I respond to your call" (verse 40:62). However, the belief that God responds to our prayers does not mean that our prayers are always granted. Kierkegaard said, "Prayer does not change God, but changes him who prays."[225] This deep truth is also embodied in the well-known words: "Who raises from his prayer a better man, his prayer is answered."[226] Iqbal says:

تری دعا سے قضا تو بدل نہیں سکتی
مگر ہے اس سے یہ ممکن کہ تو بدل جائے[227]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 167)

Prayer, then, does not change the order of things, but it changes people and people change things. As verse 13:12 states, "Verily God will not change the condition of men, till they change what is in themselves."[228] Prayer purifies, enlightens and at last transforms those who submit themselves to it.[229]

A distinction of importance in Iqbal's thought, is the one which he draws between the "mystic" and the "prophetic" types of consciousness.[230] Both the mystic and the prophet are seekers of God but whilst for the former the "unitary experience" is something final, for the latter there is an inner necessity to return to make history, to redirect and re-fashion the forces and currents of individual and collective life.[231] In *Javid Nama,* Iqbal brings out the salient differences between the two types of consciousness in the temptation of Zoroaster by Ahriman. Ahriman urges Zoroaster to leave the world and to live the life of an ascetic

شہر را بگذار و در غارے نشیں
ہم بہ خیل نور یاں صحبت گزیں
در کہستاں چوں کلیم آوارہ شو
نیم سوز آتش نظارہ شو

لیکن از پیغمبری باید گذشت
از چنیں ملا گری باید گذشت
کس میان ناکساں ناکس شود
فطرتش گر شعله باشد خس شود
تا نبوت از ولایت کمتر است
عشق را پیمغبری درد سر است
خیز و در کاشانۂ وحدت نشیں
ترک جلوت گوے و در خلوت نشیں[232]

(*Javid Nama*, pp. 52-53)

Zoroaster, representing prophetic consciousness, answers that the two types of consciousness instead of being hostile to each other are actually complementary. The Man of God must both contemplate and act, but action is the end of contemplation.

جلوۂ حق چشم من تنہا نخواست
حسن را بے انجمن دیدن خطا ست
چیست خلوت؟ درد و سوز و آرزو ست
انجمن دید است و خلوت جستجو است
عشق در خلوت کلیم اللّٰہی است
چوں بجلوت می خرامد شاہی است
خلوت و جلوت کمال سوز و ساز
ہر دو حالات و مقامات نیاز
چیست آں؟ بگذشتن از دیر و کنشت
چیست ایں؟ تنہا نه رفتن در بہشت
گرچه اندر خلوت و جلوت خدا ست
خلوت آغاز ست و جلوت انتہا ست

گفتۂ پیغمبری درد سر است
عشق چوں کامل شود آدم گر است[233]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 54)

Throughout Iqbal's writings the emphasis is on the world-transforming and world-conquering "prophetic" consciousness as opposed to the world-denying and world-renouncing "mystic" consciousness. The "Prophet" having been re-vitalized by contact with his deepest self, returns to his fellow creatures in order to disclose new directions and ideals to them. The value of his spiritual experience can be judged by examining "the types of manhood that he has created and the cultural work that has sprung out of the spirit of his message."[234]

The figure of Satan or Iblis fascinated Iqbal as it did Milton and it occupies a considerable portion of his religious philosophy. Iqbal's Iblis is not a uniform character in the sense that the Iblis portrayed in various poems is not the same figure. We see different aspects of Iblis, sometimes a totally new Iblis, emerging in different poems. On the whole, however, Iqbal's treatment of Iblis reflects some of his most brilliant poetic and philosophical insights.

In Iqbal's thought, Iblis is never wholly evil. Like Goethe, Iqbal looks upon him as Man's companion, working on Man lest he slumber.[235] Iblis symbolizes the eternal *la* (negation) but for Iqbal, *la* implies *illa* (affirmation) and is "an absolutely necessary constituent of a perfect social order."[236] Iblis represents the principle of dynamic activity in life. He offers a challenge to Man's spirit and is one of the forces behind Man's evolution, leading him from conquest to conquest.[237] K.A. Hamid expresses Iqbal's viewpoint very clearly: "Man is made up of the Gabriel-element and the Iblis-element and the development of *Khudi* does not consist in the utter extinction of the Iblis-factor. The tragedy of Iblis is not that he must die so that Adam may live; his tragedy is that his blood must forever feed the life-stream of his hated rival and enemy. It is not without reason that Iblis complains

to Gabriel that it is his life-blood, and not the latter's ever-lasting devotion to God, which imparts colour and life to the story of Man.[238] Iblis pertains in some sense to the essence of the life-process... Hence... *Khudi* cannot be built up with the Gabriel-element alone for its foundation."[239]

True to tradition, Iqbal identifies Iblis with whatever evil he sees in the world. Iblis is the loveless intellect which leads to the betrayal and destruction of Man. One of the traditional symbols for Iblis is the serpent, and this symbol is suited to Iqbal's identification of Iblis with reason, for, when attacked, a serpent defends itself with its head.[240] Iblis also comes to stand for many Western values of which Iqbal disapproved, in particular its materialistic creeds and its indifference to Man's higher self. Iqbal regards most European politicians as devils but since they are made of dust and not fire, they are incapable of anything but scheming and base manoeuvring. For Iqbal, the devils of modern civilization, lacking the grandeur of Iblis, are far more unsatisfactory than Iblis who had been in the company of God for so long.

Iqbal also shows Iblis as an advocate of the life-stultifying art and mysticism to which he was so bitterly opposed. In *Armaghan-e-Hijaz,* Iblis urges his counsellors to preach that art which makes Man a stranger to the inner turmoil of life.[241] However, as Professor Schimmel has observed, "whether it is as a seducer to useless dreams, fruitless mystical seclusion and in social flights from the world, or as a protector and defender of a civilisation which is devoid of divine love, Satan is, in all these aspects, always a necessary partner of the Perfect Man."[242]

In a poem called *Taqdir* ("Destiny")[243] which Iqbal acknowledges, was inspired by Ibn 'Arabi, we see another Iblis not the proud lover and adversary of God for whom one must feel some admiration–but a moral coward who is trying to attribute his wilful act of disobedience to God's will. This poem indicates that the Iblis whom Iqbal admired is not the one who denies the freedom of his will. Iqbal also mentions Iblis in another context of predestination and freewill. It was

through Satan's seduction of Adam that Man acquired free-will. In *Javid Nama*, Iblis shown as a sad old man, speaks to the sons of Adam

شعلہ ما از کشت زار من دمید
او ز مجبوری بہ مختاری رسید
زشتیٔ خود را نمودم آشکار
با تو دادم ذوق ترک و اختیار[244]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 159)

Following Hallaj, Iqbal looks upon Iblis as God's lover and a true Unitarian.[245] Iblis denies the charge of being an infidel and his words

از وجود حق مرا منکر مگیر
دیده بر باطن کشا ظاہر مگیر
گر بگویم نیست، ایں از ابلہی است
ز انکہ بعد از دید نتواں گفت نیست[246]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 158)

wrung from the agony of his soul, are reminiscent of the tortured Mephistopheles who, when asked by Faustus if he was out of hell, answered sorrowfully "Why this is hell, nor am I out of it.

Thinkst thou that I, who saw the face of God
And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,
Am not tormented with ten thousand hells,
In being deprived of everlasting bliss?[247]

When asked by Gabriel about the possibility of his return to Paradise, Iblis says:

آہ اے جبریل تو واقف نہیں اس راز سے
کر گیا سر مست مجھ کو ٹوٹ کہ میرا سبو
اب یہاں میری گذر ممکن نہیں ممکن نہیں
کس قدر خاموش ہے یہ عالم بے کاخ و کو

جس کی نو میدی سے ہو سوز درون کائنات
اس کے حق میں "تقنطو" اچھا ہے یا "لاتقنطو"؟[248]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, pp. 193-194)

Thus so far from setting out as Milton's Satan does, to pervert God's purpose, Iqbal's Iblis is actually conscious of being God's instrument. He does not seek for God's grace because if he were to do so, the world which God made–the world of Man–would come to a standstill. Professor Schimmel observes that in presenting this viewpoint Iqbal has made "one of the most original contributions to the problem of Satan's destiny."[249]

The Lament of Iblis in *Javid Nama* is amongst the most profound poetry Iqbal ever wrote. He shows the strange spectacle of Iblis praying to God, not for relief from pain or remission of his sins, but for a worthy opponent! In lieu of all his past worship of God, Iblis asks for a man who dares to resist him for he is so weary of all his easy triumphs. Tormented as he is by his separation from God, he does not even have the satisfaction of measuring his strength against a Man of God. Iblis would rather meet his death at the hands of a man of valour than live for a millennium surrounded by weaklings and cowards

آنچناں تنگ از فتوحات آمدم
پیش تو بہر مکافات آمدم
منکر خود از تو می خواہم بدہ
سوئے آں مرد خدا راہم بدہ
لرزہ اندازد نگاہش در تنم
اے خدا یک زندہ مرد حق پرست
لذتے شاید کہ یابم در شکست[250]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 161)

In this cry of despair one can see the world of tragedy, the world which lies beyond good and evil. W.A. Bijlefeld

writes, "I must admit that the passages about lblis...above all other Satan's lament that he can hardly find a genuine opponent in the world, appealed to me more than a lot of enlightened quasi-Christian statements about the devil, and these words will live in my spirit for a long, long time."[251]

In seeing Iblis as a complex character, a character torn between his pride and his love, a character who possessed all the lineaments of a tragic figure, Iqbal revealed one of his deepest poetic insights. This Iblis for whom the Poet had great compassion

جانم اندر تن ز سوز او تپید[252]

(*Javid Nama*, p. 158)

is one of the finest achievements of Iqbal's philosophic vision. This Iblis whose suffering brings catharsis is a much more profound and satisfying figures than the traditional Devil who leaves unexplained the greater part of the mystery of evil. Scattered throughout Iqbal's writings are his various pronouncements on the nature and purpose of Art. Iqbal has placed great emphasis on the "life-yielding" quality of Art, and has no use for a self-regarding Art which is divorced from the problems of living. In his judgment, "Art is subordinate to life, not superior to it. The ultimate end of all human activity is life–glorious, powerful, and exuberant. All human art must be subordinated to this final purpose and the value of everything must be determined in reference to its life-yielding capacity. The highest art is that which awakens our dormant will-force, and helps us to face the trials of life manfully. All that brings drowsiness and makes us shut our eyes to reality around on the mastery of which alone life depends–is a message of decay and death. There should be no opium–eating in art. The disguise of art for the sake of art is a clever invention of de–cadence to cheat us out of life and power."[253]

Iqbal has written much about what he considers to be "decadent" Art symbolized for him by Hafiz. In lines which caused great uproar, Iqbal inveighed against Hafiz "for his

quietism, his libertinism, his indifference to the great historical events that were taking place around him and the soporific effect of his mystical eroticism."[254] In *Asrar-e-Khudi*, Iqbal bids us leave the garden of Persia (‘*Ajam*) and return to the heat of the desert (*Hijaz*). Because Art is subservient to life and life, for Iqbal, is the ego's striving for perfection, it is necessary to move on from *‘Ajam* to *Hijaz*. In Iqbal's mature thought, *Hijaz* becomes, aesthetically, the symbol for that life-enhancing art which unites Beauty and Power, and becomes an embodiment of Love

دلبری بے قاہری جادو گری است

دلبری با قاہری پیغمبری است[255]

(*Zabur-e-‘Ajam*, p. 264)

In Iqbal's opinion the Poet is not a passive observer on whose blank mind Nature leaves a series of discordant impressions. On the contrary, by imaginative participation in the life of Nature, the Poet gives unity to the diversity of natural phenomena and a meaning to what he perceives. Nature is what is, the Poet creates from what is that which ought to be. In Iqbal's words, "To permit the visible to shape the invisible, to seek what is scientifically called adjustment with Nature is to recognize her mastery over the spirit of Man. Power comes from resisting her stimuli, and not from exposing ourselves to their action. Resistance of what is with a view to create what ought to be is health and life. All else is decay and death...The artist who is a blessing to mankind defies life... The modern age seeks inspiration from Nature. But Nature simply ‘is’ and her function is mainly to obstruct our search for ‘ought’ which the artist must discover within the depth of his own being."[256]

Throughout his writings Iqbal has laid great emphasis on Man's creativeness. This is an attribute Man shares with God. "Both God and Man live by perpetual creation. The artist is an associate of God and feels the contact of time and eternity in his soul."[257] For Iqbal, God is the Archetypal Poet and the

supreme creative artist.[258] Man is His apprentice and helpmate who dares, on occasions, to argue with God Himself.

گفت یزداں کہ چنین است و دگر ہیچ مگو[259]

(*Zabur-e-'Ajam*, p. 192)

and even to attempt a comparison

تو شب آفریدی چراغ آفریدم
سفال آفریدی ایاغ آفریدم
بیابان و کہسار و راغ آفریدی
خیابان و گلزار و باغ آفریدم
من آنم کہ از سنگ آئینہ سازم
من آنم کہ از زہر نوشینہ سازم[260]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 132)

Beauty and Love figure very largely in Iqbal's aesthetics and it is interesting to see the different roles allotted to these concepts during the different phases of Iqbal's thought. Iqbal's early writings, heavily coloured by Neoplatonism, suggest that until about 1908, he believed that before birth the soul enjoyed the presence of Eternal Beauty and that yearning for beauty in this life is a longing for that lost delight. During the development of his theory of Art, Iqbal believed that the function of the true artist is to reveal beauty in all things, which are particular revelations of that Divine Beauty which permeates the whole universe.[261] In 1908, the year of his return from Europe, Iqbal went through a period of doubt about the existence of real beauty in the world. He was also struck by the thought of Beauty's mutability. Later we see a gradual shifting of the emphasis from Beauty to Love, and in the period extending from about 1920 to the time of his death, Iqbal no longer described the essence of Reality in terms of Beauty but in terms of Love. As M. M. Sharif observes: "For the Neoplatonist Iqbal, beauty was the creator and the goal of

love; for the budding Vitalist Iqbal, it was the creator of love, but not its goal; now for the full-fledged heroic Vitalist Iqbal, love is everything."[262]

Iqbal identifies poetry with prophecy and believes that poets have a prophetic role to play. Like prophets, poets are gifted with a particular insight into the nature of Reality and Iqbal considers it a poet's moral responsibility to try to translate his vision into actuality and to inspire others to greater striving in order to achieve their higher destiny. Iqbal also believes that the Poet is vouchsafed knowledge of what is yet to be, and so he says:

حادثہ جو ابھی پردۂ افلاک میں ہے
عکس اس کا مرے آئینہ ادراک میں ہے
نہ ستارے میں ہے نے گردش افلاک میں ہے
تیری تقدیر مرے نالۂ بیباک میں ہے[263]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p. 94)

Since the artist has a Messianic role to play, it follows that "the spiritual health of a people largely depends on the kind of inspiration which their poets and artists receive."[264] From history Iqbal had learnt that nations could be destroyed, as they could be made, by its artists and thinkers. "The inspiration of a single decadent, if his art can lure his fellows to his song or picture, may prove more ruinous to a people than whole battalions of an Attila or a Changez."[265] On the other hand, "nations are born in the hearts of poets"[266] and a true poet brings a message of life everlasting to the whole world.

اہل زمیں کو نسخۂ زندگی دوام ہے
خون جگر سے تربیت پاتی ہے جو سخنوری[267]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 230)

Iqbal's political philosophy is, of all parts of his thought, perhaps the most commonly misunderstood. This misunderstanding is largely the result either of regarding

Iqbal's general philosophy as arising from his political philosophy or of studying his political philosophy in isolation from his general philosophy. Iqbal's political philosophy is an integral part of his total philosophy and is best understood if studied with reference to the wider whole.

It is common practice to divide Iqbal's political philosophy into phases, e.g. the nationalistic phase, the Pan-Islamic phase and the last phase in which he pioneered the Muslim independence movement. By regarding each phase as being quite distinct from, and independent of, the other phases, one almost always reaches the conclusion that either Iqbal's political views changed with astonishing rapidity or that he could not make up his mind and was inconsistent in what he said. If instead of seeing Iqbal first as a young poet with rather narrow parochial sympathies which gradually widened into love of homeland and then gave way to love of Islam which later became transformed into love of mankind, one sees Iqbal as a visionary whose ideal, from first to last, was the realization of God's Kingdom on Earth, who believed in human brotherhood, equality and freedom and strove at all times to achieve these goals, one would, I believe, be able to attain a much better understanding of Iqbal's political philosophy. It is important to remember here that Iqbal's interest in politics was secondary, not primary. In his historic address at Lahore, in 1932, he made this clear. "Politics have their roots in the spiritual life of Man. It is my belief that Islam is not a matter of private opinion. It is a society, or if you like, a civic Church. It is because present-day political ideals, as they appear to be shaping themselves in India, may affect its original structure and character that I find myself interested in politics."[268]

During the earliest (pre-1905) phase of his writing, Iqbal wrote much "patriotic" poetry. According to him, "Patriotism is a perfectly natural virtue and has a place in the moral life of Man"[269] However, patriotism is to be differentiated from "nationalism" because the latter implies an awareness of, and an involvement with, political theory or practice which may

be entirely absent from the former. During this period, Iqbal also wrote some "political" poetry. This poetry is dominated by (a) his desire to see a self-governing and united India–a country free both of alien domination and inner dissensions: in particular the Hindu-Muslim conflict; and (b) his constant endeavor to draw attention to those agencies of decay and degeneration which caused the decline of the Muslims in India.

Although Iqbal, the young Poet, was deeply disturbed by the discord, bitterness and bickering, he saw all around him in his country, India never was–nor could any country ever be–the focal point of his inspiring vision. Perhaps it was the tragedy of Iqbal's youth that the 'India-mother-of-all' ideal which meant so much to him was shattered before the children who sang his patriotic anthems grew to adulthood. Disillusionment came, as it must, when the fragile, starry-eyed idealism of youth is touched by the coldness of concrete reality. But as Keats had clung to the principle of Beauty even as sickness and sorrow consumed his mortal self, so Iqbal, through a life filled with many disappointments, never lost faith in the principle of Love. The vision which animated him was to remain constant though his melody was to become more solemn as the full-throated ease of the first fresh notes of his singing became laden with experience and the burden of prophecy.

It is often said that Iqbal's thinking was completely changed by his confrontation with the Western civilization, that he gave up his "nationalism" in favour of "Pan-Islamism" more or less as a reaction to Western political theory and practice. A study of Iqbal's poetry written during the second phase of his writing (1905–1908) certainly shows signs of his recoil from the glamorous and materially-prosperous West which he saw-with remarkable foresight-precariously poised on the verge of a cataclysm. To the inhabitants of the West, Iqbal made a prediction which came true to the last bitter syllable[270]

تمہاری تہذیب اپنے خنجر سے آپ ہی خودکشی کرے گی
جو شاخ نازک پہ آشیانہ بنے گا، نا پائدار ہوگا[271]

(*Bang-e-Dara*, p. 146)

It is also apparent that during his stay in Europe, Iqbal thought much about the nature of the Islamic community. However, the most important point about Iqbal's second phase of writing, according to my judgment, is that almost all the poems written during this period are concerned with Love. This is no accident. As a poet, Iqbal believed in Love as a principle of eternity, which in a world of ever-changing flux gave meaning and stability to human life. In the West, he became aware of the importance of Love, not only as a poetical, but as a philosophical concept. It was Love that was to be the informing vision giving unity to all his diverse writings.

Between 1908 and 1938, Iqbal wrote all his major poetical works and his Lectures *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.* It was on the basis of these writings that Iqbal emerged as a political thinker whose ideas had such great impact on the Muslim independence movement in India that today he is considered by most, if not by all, to be the "spiritual" founder of Pakistan. From the point of view of students of Iqbal's philosophy the most important question to be asked is: does Iqbal's commitment to Islam mean that a fundamental change has occurred in Iqbal's universal ideals? This question was, in fact, put to Iqbal, directly or indirectly, both by British critics and by non-Muslim admirers. Iqbal realized the serious implications of this question and took great pains to explain why he was focusing so much attention on the Islamic community. His response to Professor Lowes Dickinson, who accused his philosophy of being exclusive, summarizes most of the points he made in this regard at different times and places:

> The humanitarian ideal is always universal in poetry and philosophy, but if you make it an effective ideal and work it out in actual life you must start, not with poets and

> philosophers, but with a society exclusive in the sense of having a creed and well-defined outline, but ever–enlarging its limits by example and persuasion. Such a society according to my belief is Islam. This society has so far proved itself a more successful opponent of the race-idea which is probably the hardest barrier in the way of the humanitarian ideal... it is in view of practical and not patriotic considerations...that I was compelled to start with a specific society (e.g. Islam), which, among the societies of the world, happens to be the only one suitable to my purpose. All men and not Muslims alone are meant for the Kingdom of God on earth, provided they say goodbye to their idols of race and nationality and treat one another as personalities. The object of my Persian poems is not to make out a case for Islam: my aim is simply to discover a universal social reconstruction, and in this endeavour, I find it philosophically impossible to ignore a social system which exists with the express object of doing away with all the distinctions of caste, rank and race.[272]

Iqbal, then, sees no conflict between his commitment to Islam and his universal ideals because to him Islam is universal in essence. There still remains the question of the role he played in the Muslim political movement in India. How, in the final analysis, is it possible for his universalism to be compatible with nationalism and separatism which resulted in the creation of Pakistan? The answer to this question seems, in my opinion, to be as follows: having willed the end, he had to will the means to achieve the end.

The end for Iqbal is, of course, the perfection of the ego– both individual and communal. This perfection can be attained only through the development of the total Self. One of the special virtues of Islam–as Iqbal sees it–is that it does take account of the organic unity of human life and does not seek to divide it into spiritual and material spheres. Indian Islam, however, was in a state of political bondage and its cultural autonomy was being threatened by it. How strongly Iqbal felt about the preservation of cultural identity can be seen from statements such as these: “that which really matters is a man’s faith, his culture, his historical tradition. These are

the things which in my eyes, are worth living for and dying for, and not the piece of earth with which the spirit of Man happens to be temporarily associated."[273]

Iqbal felt that "the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own Indian homeland."[274] But could this "right" be exercised in India? Less than a year before his death, Iqbal wrote to Jinnah, "the enforcement and development of the *Shari'at* of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states."[275] This realization inevitably led to another one, "the life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralization in a specified territory"[276] Since Iqbal was not alive in 1947 to see the actual creation of Pakistan, the question of whether he would have supported the idea of a sovereign Islamic state, must, in a sense, remain hypothetical. However, keeping in mind all that he wrote, it is almost certain that he would have done so. The question with him, had he been living in 1947, would not have been–as it had never been–as of simply choosing between his loyalty to his Indian homeland and his loyalty to his co-religionists. Islam, to Iqbal, was the basis of an ideal society because it transcended all divisions and ideologies which divided mankind into belligerent camps. In India Islam was in danger of being crushed out of existence and it was essential for the continuance and well-being of Islam in India that the Muslims were allowed to preserve their cultural identity. To say that Iqbal is the "spiritual" founder of Pakistan is, therefore, justifiable. In the last bitter years of his life the preservation of Muslim identity in India did become Iqbal's overriding concern and he made vitally important contributions towards bringing about the intellectual and emotional awareness that led to the creation of Pakistan. It must be remembered, however, that Iqbal would not have regarded the creation of Pakistan as an end in itself. It would have been but a means to the end of realizing a universal vision of love and good-will amongst all people.

The corner-stone of Iqbal's philosophy is respect for

humanity. He wanted to see human life take a stand on its own dignity. He had a horror of slavery and considered nothing so degrading and harmful for human personality as the domination of one person over another, or one group over another, or one nation over another. This is why he condemned in the strongest possible terms the various "isms" which seek to put human beings in chains. A few months before his death, Iqbal said,

> The tyrany of imperialism struts abroad, covering its face in the masks of Democracy, Nationalism, Communism, Fascism and heaven knows what else besides under these masks, in every corner of the earth, the spirit of freedom and the dignity of Man are being trampled underfoot...The so-called statesmen to whom government and leadership of Man was entrusted have proved demons of bloodshed, tyranny and oppression. The rulers whose duty it was to higher community, to prevent Man's oppression of Man and to elevate the moral and intellectual level of mankind, have, in their hunger for dominion and imperial possession shed the blood of millions and reduced millions to servitude simply in order to pander to the greed and avarice of their own particular groups. After subjugating and establishing their dominion over weaker peoples, they have robbed them of their possessions, of their religions, of their mortals, of their cultural traditions and their literatures. They sowed divisions among them that they should shed one another's blood, and go to sleep under the opiate of serfdom, so that the leach of serfdom might go on sucking their blood without interruption...National unity...is not a very durable force. One unity is durable and that unity is brotherhood of Man, which is above race, nationality, color or language, and so long as this so-called democracy, this accursed nationalism and this degraded imperialism are not shattered, so long as men do not demonstrate by their actions that they believe that the whole world is the family of God, so long as distinctions of race, colour, and geographical nationalities are not wiped out completely they will never be able to lead a happy and contented life, and the beautiful ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity will never materialize.[277]

It is profoundly moving to note how having described the

various causes of human misery and exploitation, Iqbal once again speaks of the brotherhood of men. These words coming from a man suffering from the prolonged agony of a fatal illness, who had seen the passing away of many golden dreams and hopes, beset on all sides by anxiety and disappointment, must find their place in history as a magnificent testament to the vision of Love.

In recent years much has been written about Iqbal's attitude to socialism. Iqbal's sympathy for socialism flowed out of his passionate dislike for injustice and despotism. Economic inequities had starved and depraved the body and religious authoritarianism had shackled the spirit. Lenin's resounding voice is also Iqbal's when the former protests against Western civilization in the presence of God

ظاہر میں تجارت ہے حقیقت میں جوا ہے
سود ایک کا لاکھوں کے لیے مرگ مفاجات
یہ علم، یہ حکمت، یہ تدبر، یہ حکومت
پیتے ہیں لہو دیتے ہیں تعلیم مساوات
بیکاری و عریانی و میخواری و افلاس
کیا کم ہیں فرنگی مدنیت کے فتوحات[278]

(*Bal-e-Jibril*, p, 146)

Iqbal was also relieved to see the House of God purged of idols by the "storm that sweeps away all the foul airs in the atmosphere."[279]

روش قضائے الٰہی کی ہے عجیب و غریب
خبر نہیں کہ ضمیر جہاں میں ہے کیا بات
ہوئے ہیں کسر چلیپا کے واسطے مامور
وہی کہ حفظ چلیپا کو جانتے تھے نجات
یہ وحی دہریت روس پر ہوئی نازل
کہ توڑ ڈال کلیسائیوں کے لات و منات[280]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 141)

Iqbal believed that "Bolshevism plus God is almost identical with Islam" and did not anticipate that Russia would remain godless "for no system of society can rest on an atheistic basis."[281]

For Iqbal, original Islam has been a socialistic movement and he said that if he were a "dictator" of a Muslim state he would first make it a socialist state.[282] In a letter to Jinnah, he wrote, "If Hinduism accepts social democracy, it must necessarily cease to be Hinduism. For Islam the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam."[283] Here it may be important to point out that by "socialism" Iqbal meant social democracy rather than the dialectical materialism of Engels and Lenin. He is justified in using the term "socialism," however, since "socialism" is a very wide concept and is not "a concomitant of modern industrialism nor is it, as Nietzsche and some of his reactionary followers contend, simply the resentment of the hungry and the oppressed, a kind of slave uprising against the natural privileges of the superman. There has been a remarkable continuity in the socialist movement, which is derived from a deep common stock of ideas and emotions. It is not bound to any form of social or economic organization, but arises everywhere and at all times when this common inheritance of human nature is offended."[284]

Iqbal has made many statements which are critical of democracy in general and of Western democracy in particular. Some of these statements refer to the practical difficulties which are an outcome of the democratic form of government. For instance, "Democracy means rows...it lets loose all sorts of aspirations and grievances...it arouses hopes and ambitions often quite impractical"[285] furthermore, "Democracy has a tendency to foster the spirit of legality. This is not it itself bad; but it tends to displace the purely moral standpoint, and to make the illegal and wrong identical in meaning."[286]

Iqbal's main criticism of democracy, however, is contained in lines such as these

اس راز کو اک مرد فرنگی نے کیا فاش
ہر چند کہ دانا اسے کھولا نہیں کرتے
جمہوریت اک طرز حکومت ہے کہ جس میں
بندوں کو گنا کرتے ہیں تولا نہیں کرتے[287]

(*Zarb-e-Kalim*, p. 150)

and

متاع معنئ بیگانہ از دوں فطرتاں جوئی؟
ز موراں شوخئ طبع سلیمانے نمی آید
گریز از طرز جمہوری غلام پختہ کارے شو
کہ از مغز دو صد خر فکر انسانے نمی آید[288]

(*Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 158)

The point Iqbal wishes to stress is that in a democracy, note is taken of "individuality" which is a material fact and not of "personality" which is a spiritual fact. Numerical equality is stressed at the expense of unequal merit. Iqbal's conception of the "Wise Man" is closer to Plato's "Philosopher-King" than to Nietzsche's "Superman" and represents the eternal human longing for a leader who combines the highest authority with the greatest wisdom.

The fact that Iqbal has pointed out the limitations of democracy does not mean that he was opposed to democracy in toto. "Democratic government," he said, "has attendant difficulties but these are difficulties which human experience elsewhere has shown to be surmountable."[289] In a note on Muslim Democracy, Iqbal presents a passionate defence of "ideal" democracy. "Nietzsche...abhors the 'rule of herd' and, hopeless of the plebeian, he bases all higher culture on the cultivation and growth of an Aristocracy of Supermen. But is the plebeian so absolutely hopeless? The Democracy of Islam did not grow out of the extension of economic opportunity, it is a spiritual principle based on the assumption that every

human being is a centre of latent power, the possibilities of which can be developed by cultivating a certain type of character. Out of the plebeian material Islam has formed men of the noblest type of life and power. Is not, then the Democracy of early Islam an experimental refutation of the ideas of Nietzsche?"[290]

Again, in an essay on "Islam as a Moral and Political Ideal," Iqbal said clearly, "Democracy...is the most important aspect of Islam regarded as a political ideal," and added that "there is no aristocracy in Islam."[291] For him, the two basic propositions underlying Muslim political constitution were: "(1) The Law of God is absolutely supreme. Authority, except as an interpreter of the law, has no place in the social structure of Islam. Islam has a horror of personal authority. We regard it as inimical to the enfoldment of human individuality... (2) The absolute equality of all the members of the community."[292]

Iqbal has considered the relationship of the individual and the community in considerable detail in his writings. There are, very broadly speaking, two schools of thought dealing with this relationship. One school regards the development of the individual as the end of the life-process and society merely as an instrument of his development. The second school regards society or state as a supra-personal entity whose development is of far greater importance than the rights of individuals. Iqbal recognizes that the individual is shaped and molded through contact with society

فرد را ربط جماعت رحمت است
جوهر او را کمال از ملت است
فرد تا اندر جماعت گم شود
قطرۂ وسعت طلب قلزم شود
درونش ذوق نمو از ملت است
احتساب کار او از ملت است

پیکرش از قوم و هم جانش زقوم
ظاهرش از قوم و پنهانش زقوم
فرد تنہا از مقاصد غافل است
قوتش آشفتگی را مائل است
قوم با ضبط آشنا گرداندش
نرم رو مثل صبا گرداندش
پا به گل مانند شمشادش کند
دست و پا بندد که آزادش کند[293]

(*Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, pp. 76-99)

but he also maintains that "In an over-organized society, the individual is altogether crushed out of existence. He gains the whole wealth of social thought around him and loses his own soul. The only effective power, therefore, that counteracts the forces of decay in a people, is the rearing of self-concentrated individuals. Such individuals alone reveal the depth of life. They disclose new standards in the light of which we begin to see that our environment is not wholly inviolable and requires revision."[294]

In a profound essay, J. J. Houben has distinguished between "individuality" and "personality" in Iqbal's thought. "Individuality" refers to matter whilst "personality" is rooted in the spirit. "In so far as the human person entering society is a material individuality, he enters it as a part whose good is inferior to the good of the whole," or in other words, "the human person is a part of the political community and is inferior to the latter according to the things, which in him and of him depend as to their very essence on the community and which can be called upon to serve as means for the temporal good of this community.," But so far as the spiritual personality of a human being is concerned, "there is nothing above the human person except God."[295] For Iqbal, then, in one sense the individual is subordinate to society, but in

another (and perhaps a more fundamental) sense society exists for the human person and is subordinate to him.

Having summarized the salient aspects and ideas of Iqbal's philosophy it would perhaps be appropriate to ask this question: what is it that Iqbal gives us? Zakir Hussain, the former President of India–the country of Iqbal's birth–answers for many when he says "what is that Iqbal does not give to him who seeks? He gives strength to the weak and a meaning to strength. He awakens the urge for a full, all-round, harmonious development of personality for the devoted and selfless service of social ideas which alone make life worth the living. He gives to the pale anaemic calculations of the intellect the possibility to draw upon the unlimited resources of emotions and instincts, disciplined, chastened, ennobled by faith, and by creative activity."[296]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Enver, I.H., *Metaphysics of Iqbal*, Lahore, 1963, p.37

[2] For the mulla, a God-denier is an infidel,
for me, a Self-denier is a greater infidel,

[3] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.84

[4] Pickthall, M.M., *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, New York, 1960, p.85

[5] *Ibid*, p.84

[6] *Ibid*, p. 83

[7] *Ibid*, p.85

[8] Dar, B.A., *Qur'anic Ethics*, Lahore, 1960, p. 38

[9] Cohu, J.R., *Vital Problems of Religion*, Edinburgh, 1914, p. 41

[10] What has gained consciousness in human beings, sleeps a deep sleep
in trees, in flowers, in animals, in stones and in the stars.

[11] Cohu, J.R., *op. cit.*, p.54

[12] The partridge's leg is derived from the elegance of its gait,
The nightingale's beak from its endeavour to sing...
Nose, hand, brain, eye and ear,
Thought, imagination, feeling, memory and understanding-
All these are weapons devised by life for self-Preservation
In its ceaseless struggle.
(translation by Nicholson, R.A., *The Secrets of the Self*, pp 25-26)

[13] Time's revolutions have one goal,
To show you what is your own soul.
(translation by Kiernan, V.G., *Poems from Iqbal*, p.49)

[14] The late-found meaning of the Universe's book you are
in your quest the caravans of hue-and-scent have been.

[15] And thus Life spoke: I writhed in dust, aeon after aeon,
at last a door there is which leads out of this ancient prison

[16] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.12

[17] Dar, B.A., "Intellect and Intuition in Bergson and Sufis," *Iqbal*, January 1956, Volume IV, No. 3, p.82

[18] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.138

[19] Dar, B.A., "Intellect and Intuition in Bergson and Sufis," p.82

[20] Khatoon, J., *The Place of God, Man and Universe in the Philosophic System of Iqbal*, Karachi, 1963, p. 3

[21] The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p.12

[22] *Ibid.*, p.15

[23] *Ibid*,, p.91

[24] *Ibid.*, p.4

[25] *Ibid*.

[26] Khatoon, I., "Iqbal's Theory of Knowledge," *Iqbal Review*, April 1960, p.94

[27] Bilgrami, H.H., "Iqbal's Theory of Knowledge and its Significance in his Poetry," *The Islamic Literature*, Lahore, 1951, p.11

[28] The power of the West comes from science and technology, and with that selfsame flame its lamp is bright:
For science and technology, elegant young sprig, brains are necessary, not European clothes,
If you have a nimble intellect, that is sufficient, If you have a perceptive mind, that is sufficient.
(translation by Arberry, A.J., *Javid Nama*, p.129)

[29] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.50

The Pakistan Philosophical Journal, Lahore, January 1963, Volume VI, No. 3, p.32
[30] *Ibid.*, pp.186-187
[31] Erfan, N., "What is Common between Existentialists and Iqbal," *The Pakistan Philosophical Journal*, Lahore, January 1963, Volume VI, No 3, p. 32
[32] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.61
[33] Malik, G.R., "The Nature of the Ego," *Iqbal Review*, October 1964, p.45
[34] Stocks, J.L., "Reason and Intuition," *Reason and Intuition and other Essays*, London, 1939, p. 3
[35] *Ibid*.
[36] Caird, E., "The Problem of Philosophy at the Present Time," *Essays on Literature*, Glasgow, 1909, p,195
[37] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.183
[38] Enver, 1.H., *op. cit.*, pp.12-18
[39] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit.*, p.137
[40] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp.5-6
[41] Rahman, F., "Modern Muslim Thought," *Iqbal*, 1955, Volume III, No. 3, p.21
[42] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.3
[43] Stocks; J.L., *op. cit.*, p.18
[44] *Ibid.*, p,16
[45] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit.*, pp.105-106
[46] Whittemore, R., "Iqbal's Panentheism," *Iqbal Review*, 1966, Volume VI1, No.1, p.64
[47] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.184
[48] *Ibid*, p 109
[49] Underhill, E., *Mysticism*, London, 1960, p.85
[50] Schimmel. A.M., *op. cit.*, p.135
[51] Rumi, J., *Masnawi-e-Ma'nawi* (Edited by Darvish, M. and Furuzanfar, B), Tehran, 1963, Book IV, line 1042 quoted in *Payam-e-Mashriq*, p. 246.
[52] If Love there is then even unbelief is "true Islam,"
but if Love is not, a "Muslim" too a heathen is.
[53] Dar, B.A., *Iqbal's Gulshan-i Raz-i Jadid* and *Bandagi Namah*, p.27
[54] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.102
[55] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p.115

[56] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.51
[57] Whitehead, AN., *Nature and Life*, Cambridge, 1934, p.27
[58] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.106
[59] *Ibid.*, pp.71-27
[60] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p.111
[61] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.56
[62] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p.112
[63] Dar, B.A., *op. cit.*, p.27
[64] Bausani, A., "The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal," *Die Welt des Islams*, (N S.), Leiden, 1954, Volume III, p.162
[65] *Ibid*.
[66] *Ibid*.
[67] Enver, I. M., *Metaphysics of Iqbal*, pp. 85-86
[68] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.63
[69] Bausani, A., "Iqbal's Philosophy of Religion, and the West," *The Pakistan Quarterly*, 1952, *Volume* II, No.3, p.18
[70] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.64
[71] *lbid.*, p. 65
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 55
[73] Iqbal quoted by Nicholson, R.A., in the Introduction to *The Secrets of the Self*, p. xvii
[74] Harre R., "Iqbal : A Reformer of Islamic Philosophy," *The Hibbert Journal*, London, October 1957-July 1958, Volume LVI, p.335
Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit*., p.296
[75] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.47
[76] *Ibid.*, p.48
[77] *Ibid.*, p.49
[78] Schimmel, A.M., *Gabriel's Wing,* p.296
[79] Schimmel, A.M., "The Javidname in the Light of the Comparative History of Religions," p. 32.
[80] Schimmel A.M., *Gabriel's Wing*, p.297
[81] *Ibid*.
[82] Body lives and spirit lives
By the life their union gives.
(translation by Arberry, A.J., *Persian Psalms*, p. 75)
[83] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p.71
[84] Khatoon, J., *The Place of God, Man and Universe in the*

Philosophic System of Iqbal, p. 135
[85] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 50
[86] Bausani, A., "Iqbal's Philosophy of Religion, and the West," p. 54
[87] Iqbal quoted by Nicholson, R. A., in the Introduction to *The Secrets of the Self*, p. xviii.
[88] Sale, *G.*, *The Koran*, n. d., p. 220
[89] *Ibid.*, p. 207
[90] 'Ali, A. *Y.*, *The Holy Quran*, Indianapolis, 1975, pp. 1129-1130
[91] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 95
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 85
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 95
[94] Sale, G., *The Koran*, p. 244
[95] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 105
[96] Smith, H. B , "The Muslim Doctrine of Man," *The Muslim World*, July-October 1954, Volume XLIV, Nos. 3 and 4, p. 207
[97] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 110
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 50
[99] Bausani, A., "*The Concept of Time in the Religious Philosophy of Muhammad Iqbal*," p. 172
[100] Dar, B. A.. *Qur'anic Ethics,* p. 31
[101] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p. 38
[102] *Ibid.*, p. 38
[103] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p, 12
[104] Are you alive? Be vehement, be creative;
Like Us, embrace all horizons;
Break whatsoever is uncongenial,
Out of your heart's heart produce a new world It is irksome to the free servitor
To live in a world belonging to others.
Whoever possesses not the power to create
In Our sight is naught but an infidel, a heathen;
Such a one has not taken his share of Our Beauty,
Has not tasted the fruit of the Tree of Life.
Man of God, be trenchant as a sword.
Be yourself your own world's destiny.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *Javid Nama*, p, 138)
[105] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 109
[106] *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110

[107] Arnold, T. W., *The Islamic Faith,* London, 1918, p. 24

[108] Predestination is the religion of man of zeal, Predestination for heroes is the perfection of power.
Ripe souls become yet riper through constraint
which for raw man is the embrace of the tomb.
The business of true men is resignation and submission;
This garment does not suit the weaklings.
You who say, "This was to be, and so happened,
All things were tethered to a divine decree, and so happened,"
You have little understood the meaning of destiny;
You have seen neither selfhood nor God :
The believer true thus petitions God:
'We accord with you, so accord with us.'
His resolution is the creator of God's determination
And on the day of battle his arrow is God's arrow.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *Javid Nama,* pp. 94-95)

[109] Rahman, M. W., "Iqbal's Doctrine of Destiny," *The Islamic Culture,* 1939, Volume 13, pp. 159-160

[110] Iqbal quoted by Nicholson, R. A., in the Introduction *to The Secrets of the Self, pp.* xx-xxi

[111] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* p. 147

[112] *Stray Reflections,* p. 17

[113] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* p. 119

[114] Iqbal quoted by Nicholson, R. A., *op.cit*., p. xxiv

[115] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* p. 119

[116] Whittemore, R., "Iqbal's Panentheism," p. 75

[117] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* p. 119

[118] Vahiduddin, S., "The Philosophy of Sir Muhammad Iqbal," "*The Aryan Path,* Bombay, December 1957. Volume XXVIII, p, 548

[119] Dar, B. A., *Qur'anic Ethics,* p. 51

[120] Schimmel, A. M., *op. cit*., pp. 283-484.

[121] Iqbal quoted by Nicholson, R. *A.,* In Introduction to *The Secrets of the Self,* p xxv

[122] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* pp. 119-120

[123] *Ibid.,* p. 120

[124] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* p. 123

[125] *Ibid.,* p. 120

[126] If our salvation be the cessation of searching, better the grave

than a heaven of colours and scen's. (Translation by Arberry, A. J., *Javid Nama*, p. 37)

[127] The lover's heart dies in an everlasting paradise.

[128] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 95

[129] Do not think you are perfect; for you are
Still in the making: you complete one stage
And go on to the next, imperfect all
The time To reach no end, to travel on
Without a stop is everlasting life.
(translation by Hussain, H., *The New Rose-Garden of Mystery,* Lahore, 1969, p. 15)

[130] Collingwood, R., "The Devil," *Concerning Prayer* (by several authors), London, 1916, p. 74

[131] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p. 239

[132] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* p. 12

[133] Tillich, P., *Love, Power and Justice,* London, 1954, p. 27

[134] Browne, E. G., "Notice of Nicholson, R. A.: *The Secrets of the Self*:" The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,London, 1921, p. 143

[135] Avery, P., "Iqbal and the Message of Persian Metaphysics," (text of an Iqbal Day Address delivered at London in April 1960, made available through he courtesy of the Pakistan High Commission)

[136] *Ibid*.

[137] I have never discovered well
Law's way, and wont thereof,
But know him an infidel
Who denieth the power of Love
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *Persian Psalms,* p. 103)

[138] Tillich, P., Love, Power and Justice, p. 48

[139] *Ibid.*, p. 47

[140] Iqbal quoted by Nicholson, R. A., in the Introduction to *The Secrets of the Self*, p. xxv.

[141] Raju, P. T., "The Idealism of Sir Mohammad Iqbal," *The Visvabharati Quarterly, (N. S.),* August-October 1940, Volume V I. part 2, p. 113

[142] Nicholson, R. A., *The Idea of Personality in Sufism,* Cambridge, 1923, pp 14-18

[143] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* p. 118

[144] Sale., G., *The Koran*, p. 390
[145] Tillich, P., *Love, Power and Justice*, p. 26
[146] Iqbal quoted by Nicholson, R. A., in the Introduction to *The Secrets of the Self*, p. xix
[147] Raju, P. T., The Idealism of Sir Mohammad Iqbal, p. 113
[148] Forster, E. M., "Mohammad Iqbal," in *Two Cheers for Democracy*, p. 297
[149] If vision self-effacement bring,
The veil is a far better thing;
Thy trade hath little to entice
That doth require so great a price.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *Persian Psalms*, p. 35)
[150] Saiyidain, K. G., *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy*, pp 187-188
[151] What is a Momin's "fagr": Conquest of time and space, It bestows upon a slave the Master's attributes.
[152] The code young men must follow is to be truthful and bold, for God's lions do not know the fox's craftiness.
[153] *Stray Reflections*, p. 115
[154] Nietzsche, F., quoted by Read, H., in "On First Reading Nietzsche," *The Tenth Muse*, London, 1957, p. 108
[155] Rollins, H. E., (Editor), *The Letters of John Keats*, Cambridge, 1958, Volume II, p. 102
[156] *Stray Reflections*, p. 103
[157] Harder than being the world's caretaker is to know it well
It is through heartbreak the vision of the heart is born.
[158] Schimmel, A. M., *op. cit*., p. 142
[159] Your mirror do not guard always for such a mirror is this
That broken, to its maker, it would be more precious still.
[160] *The Reconstruction of Religious Though t in Islam*, p. 119
[161] *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, pp. 115-116
[162] *Asrar-e-Khudi*, p. 21
[163] High-aiming eye, heart-pleasing speech, and a feeling soul is what the caravan commander for his journey needs.
[164] Take thou thine axe, and excavate thy path
(translated by Arberry, A. J., *The Tulip of Sina'i*, p. 21)
[165] Thou hast learned
The rote of others, taking that for store,
An alien rouge to beautify thy face;
In those insignia thou takest pride,

Until I know not if thou be thyself
Or art another. Fanned by foreign blasts
Thy soil is fallen silent, and no more
Fertile in fragrant roses and sweet herbs
Desolate not thy tilth with thy own hand;
Make it not beg for rain from alien clouds.
Thy mind is prisoner to others' thoughts.
Another's music throbs within thy throat.
Thy very speech is borrowed, and thy heart
Dilates with aspiration not thine own.
If he, whose glance contains the mystery
"Erred not the sight" if he should come again
Unto his people, he whose candle-flame
Knows its own moth, who can distinguish well
His own from strangers, standing at the gate,
Our Master would declare, "Thou art not mine."
Woe, Woe, alas for us upon that day!
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *The Mysteries of Selfessness*, pp. 72-73)

[166] *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi*, pp. 108-111

[167] *Ibid.*,

[168] Man, by one kind of grief, is all consumed;
The other kind consumes all other griefs.

[169] O thou who art a prisoner of care,
Learn from the Prophet's message, "*Do not grieve!* "
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *The Mysteries of Selflessness,* p. 14)

[170] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp. 34-35

[171] *Ibid.*

[172] Whatever evil lurks within thy heart
Thou canst b: certain that its origin
Is fear: fraud, cunning, malice, lies–all these
Flourish on terror, who is wrapped about
With falsehood and hypocrisy for veil,
And fondles foul sedition at her breast
Who understands the Prophet's clue aright
Sees infidelity concealed in fear.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *The Mysteries of Selflessness,* pp.15-16)

[173] Saiyidain, K. G , *Iqbal's Educational Philosophy*, p. 40

[174] The Gospel of St. Matthew, 16 : 26, *The Holy Bible,* Glasgow, 1954, p. 17

[175] The slave parts cheaply with religion and
With wisdom both : he gives away his soul
To save his body...
The body fattens on the boon of kings,
The soul grows spectre-thin.
(translation by Hussain, H., *The New Rose-Garden of Mystery and The Book of Slaves,* pp 60, 63)

[176] You are Saiyids, and Mirzas, and Afghans,
but tell me–are you also Muslims? p. 181

[177] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 181

[178] Kashyap, S., "Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Friedrich Nietzsche," *The Islamic Quarterly,* April 1955, Volume II, No. 1,

[179] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* p. 181.

[180] Bausani, A., "Iqbal's Philosophy of Religion, and the West," p. 54

[181] Iqbal quoted by Nicholson, R. A., in the Introduction to *The Secrets of the Self*, pp. xxvil-xxvlli

[182] *Ibid.,* p. xxviii

[183] *Ibid.*

[184] Schimmel, A, M., *Gabriel's Wing,* p. 382

[185] Before him the whole world bows prostrate,
before him who called himself His servant.
'His servant' surpasses your understanding
because he is man, and at the same time essence.
His essence is neither Arab nor non-Arab;
he is a man, yet more ancient than man.
'His servant' is the shaper of destinies,
in him are deserts and flourishing cultivations;
'His servant' both increases life and destroys it,
'His servant' is both glass and heavy stone.
'Servant' is one thing,
'His servant' is another;
we are all expectancy, he is the expectation.
'His servant' is time, and time is of 'His servant';
we all are colour, he is without colour and scent.
'His servant' had beginning, but has no end;
what have our morn and eve to do with 'His servant'?

No man knows the secret of 'His servant',
'His servant' is naught but the secret of 'save God'.
'Save God' is the sword whose edge is
'His servant'; do you want it plainer? Say, He is 'His servant'. 'His servant' is the how and why of creation,
'His servant' is the inward mystery of creation.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *Javid Nama*, p. 99)
[186] Soderblom, N , quoted by Schimmel, A. M., *op. cit.*, p. 90
[187] You have finished now with lords;
pass on from 'no', march onwards to 'but'–
pass on from 'no', if you are a true seeker,
that you may take the road of living affirmation.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *Javid Nama*, pp. 67-68)
[188] Schimmel, A. M., *Gabriel's Wing*, p. 87
The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p. 156
[189] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 154
[190] The individual through the Unity becomes Divine,
The nation through the Unity becomes Omnipotent
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *Javid Nama*, p. 139)
[191] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 156
[192] Edib, H., *Inside India*, London, 1937, pp. 93-94
[193] Arnold, T. W., *The Islamic Faith*, London, 1928, p. 77
[194] Being's Essence without a veil though he perceived,
yet he spoke the words, "Advance me Lord (in knowledge)"
[195] My breast is riven and anguished by this Mohammad;
his breath has put out the burning lamp of the Kaaba.
He has sung of the destruction of Caesar and Chosroes,
he has stolen away from us our young men–
He is a wizard, and wizardry is in his speech:
these two words 'One God' are very unbelief.
His creed cuts through the rulership and lineage
Of Koraish, denies the supremacy of the Arabs;
in his eyes lofty and lowly are the same thing-
he has sat down at the same table with his slave.
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *Javid Nama*,pp. 51-52)
[196] *Stray Reflections*, pp. 26-27
[197] That Ruler of our faith,
Of his abundant bounty gave the earth
Entire to be the confines of our mosque.

(translation by Arberry, A. J., *The Mysteries of Selflessness*, p. 30)
[198] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p. 14 3
(translation by Arberry, A. J., *The Mysteries of Selflessness*, p. 30)
[199] *Ibid.*
[200] Schimmel, A.M., *Gabriel's Wing,* p. 302
[201] *Ibid*.
[202] Underhill, E , *Mysticism,* p. 132
[203] *Javid Nama*, pp. 15-16
[204] What is Ascension? The desire for a witness,
an examination face-to-face of a witness,
a competent witness without whose confirmation
Life to us is like colour and scent to a rose.
In that Presence no man can remain firm,
or if he remains, he is of perfect essay.
(translation by Arberry, A.J., *Javid Nama*, p. 30)?
[205] *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 108
[206] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* p. 126
[207] Harre, R., "Iqbal: A Reformer of Islamic Philosophy," p. 37
[208] Schimmel, A.M , "The Idea of Prayer in the Thought of Iqbal," *Mohammad Iqbal*, Karachi, 1960, p. 68
[209] Arberry, A.J , *Sufism*, London, 1950. n. 30
[210] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 109.
[211] *Ibid.*
[212] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 109
Nicholson, *R A., The Secrets of the Self*, p. 77
[213] Brown. W.A., *The Life of Prayer in the World of Science*, London, 1927, p. 132
[214] Herman, E., *Creative Prayer*, London, 1921, p. 35
[215] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* p. 92
[216] *Ibid*.
[217] Nicholson, *R A., The Secrets of the Self*, p. 77
[218] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 93
[219] King Mahmud, Ayaz the slave–their rank in service was the same,
Lord and servant–at devotion never difference was there.
Slave and master, rich and needy–all the old distinctions gone,
Unified in adoration of Thy Presence, they were one.
(translation by Arberry, A.J., *Complaint and Answer*, p 13.
[220] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 154

[221] Wherever 1 bow my head into the dust, roses rise.
My asking will not find room in two rak‘as of prayer
(translation by Schimmel, A.M., *Gabriel's Wing,* p. 179)
[222] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 91
[223] *Ibid*.
[224] *Ibid*. p 92
[225] Kierkegaard, S., quoted in *The Encyclopaedia of Religious Quotations* (edited by Mead, E.S.), London, 1965 p. 342
[226] Meredith, G. quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 343
[227] Your prayer cannot change the Order of the Universe,
but it is possible that praying will alter your being;
if there is a revolution in your inner Self
it will not be strange, then, if the whole world changes too.
[228] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 12
[229] Underhill, E., *Worship,* London, 1941, p. 18
[230] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 124-125
[231] *lbid.*
[232] Abandon the city and hide yourself in a cave,
choose the company of the cavalcade of the creatures of light;
become a wanderer in the mountains like Moses,
be half-consumed in the fire of vision;
but you must certainly give up prophecy,
you must give up all such mullah-mongery.
By associating with nobodies, a somebody becomes a nobody.
Though his nature be a flame, he becomes a chip of wood.
So long as prophethood is inferior to sainthood
prophecy is a veritable vexation to love.
Now rise, and nestle in the nest of Unity,
abandon manifestation and sit in retirement!
(translation by Arberry, A.J , *Javid Nama*, p. 48)
[233] Not my eyes only desired the manifestation of God;
it is a sin to behold beauty without a company.
What is solitude? Pain, burning and yearning;
company is vision, solitude is a search.
Love in solitude is colloquy with God;
when love marches forth in display, that is to be a king! Solitude and manifestation are the perfection of ardour,
both alike are states and stations of indigence.
What is the former? To desert cloister and church;

what is the later? Not to walk alone in Paradise!
Though God dwells in solitude and manifestation,
solitude is the beginning, manifestation the end.
You have said that prophecy is a vexation :
When love becomes perfect, it fashions men.
(translated by Arberry, A J,, *Javid Noma,* p. 49)

[234] The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, pp. 124-125

[235] Schimmel, A.M., "Mohammad Iqbal and German Thought," *Mohammad Iqbal,* p. 97

[236] Khayal, T.M., "Iqbal's Conception of Satan," *Iqbal,* July 1955, Volume II, No. 1, p. 9

[237] Maitre, L., "Iqbal: A Great Humanist," *Iqbal Review,* April 1961, p. 28

[238] *Bal-e-Jibril,* p. 194

[239] Hamid, K.A., "Remarks on the Development of Iqbal's Poetic Thought," *Poems from Iqbal,* p. 128

[240] Schimmel, A.M. *Gabriel's Wing*, p. 216

[241] *Armaghan-e-Hijaz,* p. 22S

[242] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit*., p. 219

[243] *Zarb-e-Kalim,* pp. 42-43

[244] Flames sprang forth from my sown field;
Man out of predestination achieved freewill,
I displayed my own hideousness
and have given you the joy of learning or choosing
(translation by Arberry. A.J., *Javid Nama,* p. 104)

[245] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit.,* p. 210

[246] Do not take me for one who denies God's existence;
Open your eyes on my inner self, overlook my exterior.
If I say, "He is not," that would be foolishness,
for when one has seen, one cannot say "He is not."
(translation by Arberry, A.J, *Javid Nama,* p. 104)

[247] Marlowe, C., *Doctor Faustus* (edited by W.W. Greg), Oxford, 1961, p, 10

[248] Ah! Gabriel of this mystery you are not aware,
by being smashed my drinking glass made me in-ebriate;
that I should pass this way again now is impossible,
how silent is this world without a palace or a street!
For him whose hopelessness provides Creation's inner glow
is not "Despair" a better thing than "Not to Despair"

(reference to verse 39 : 53)?
[249] Schimmel, A.M., *op. cit.*, p. 212
[250] I have become saddened by all my triumphs
that now I come to You for recompense;
I seek from You one who dares to deny me–
Guide me to such a man of God.
I need a man who will twist my neck,
whose glance will set my body quivering.
Grant me, O God, one living man of faith;
haply I shall know delight at last in defeat.
(translation by Arberry, A.J, *Javid Nama*, p 105)
[251] Bijlefeld W.A., quoted by Schimmel. A.M., "The Figure of Satan in the Works of Muhammad Iqbal."
[252] My soul in my body quivered for his agony.
(translated by Arberry, A.J , *Javid Nama*, p. 103)
[253] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp. 85-86
[254] Hussain, H., *Iqbal, Poetry and the Poet* (In manuscript, consulted by courtesy of the author)
[255] Charm lacking power is mere sorcery,
but charm with power combined is prophethood.
[256] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p. 145
[257] *Ibid*.
[258] Hussain, H., *op. cit*.
[259] God decreed, "It is like this! Gainsay it not."
Man said, "Verily it is like this, but it ought to be like that!"
[260] Thou didst create night and I made the lamp;
Thou didst create clay and I made the cup;
Thou didst create deserts, mountains and forests,
I produced the orchards, gardens and groves;
It is I whu turn stone into a mirror;
And it is 1 who turn poison into an antidote 1
[261] Das, S , *The Philosophy of Sir Mahomed Iqbal*, p. 737.
[262] Sharif, M. M., *About Iqbal and His Thought*, p. 69.
[263] That happening which yet lies hid beyond the curtained sky
casts its reflections on the mirror of my intellect;
it is not in the stars nor in the motions of the sky,
your destiny is held within my bold, undaunted song.
To the world's people it is the way to everlasting life–that art of writing which is nurtured by heart's agony

[264] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p. 144.
[265] *Ibid.*, p. 145.
[266] *Stray Reflections*, p. 125.
[267] To the world's people it is the way to everlasting life–that art of writing which is nurtured by heart's agony
[268] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p. 288.
[269] *Ibid.*, p. 197
[270] Singh, I., *The Ardent Pilgrim*, p. 272.
[271] Your civilization with its own dagger will suicide commit-a nest built on a feeble bough cannot be permanent
[272] . *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp. 98-99.
[273]*Ibid.*, p. 197.
[274] *Ibid.*, p 169.
[275] Jinnah, M A., (editor) *Iqbal's Letters to Jinnah*, Lahore, 1963, p. 18.
[276] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, p. 171.
[277] *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal, pp.* 220-222.
[278] What they call commerce is a game of dice:
For one, profit, for millions swooping death.
There science, philosophy, scholarship, government,
Preach men's equality and drink men's blood;
Naked debauch, and want, and unemployment–
Are these mean triumphs of the Frankish arts!
(translation by Kiernan, V. G., *Poems from Iqbal*, pp. 42-43).
[279] *Stray Reflections*, p. 110.
[280] Unsearchably God's edicts move; who knows
What thoughts are stirring deep in the world-mind:
Those ale appointed to pull down, who lately
Held it salvation to protect, the priests?
On godless Russia the command descends
Smite all the Baals and Dagons of the Church!
(translate by Kiernan, V.O., *Poems from Iqbal*, p. 70)
[281] *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 167.
[282] Iqbal quoted by Taseer, M. D., in Hassan, R. (Editor), *The Sword and the Sceptre*, Karachi, 1978, p. 118.
[283] *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah*, p. 19.
[284] Seligman. E. R., and Johnson, A., (editors), *The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, New York, 1957, Volume XIV, p. 209.
[285] *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, p. 168.

[286] *Stray Reflections*, p. 120.
[287] A European let this rescet out (reference is to Stendhal) although wise men such mysteries conceal
Democracy is that form of government
Where men are counted but they are not weighed.
[288] Are you looking for a noble spirit in petty souls?
Do not expect from ants the vision of a Solomon!
Democracy desist and follow a mature, wise man
for from two hundred donkeys' brains,
human thought issues not.
[289] *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, p 169.
[290] *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp. 83-84.
[291] *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.
[292] *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.
[293] The link that binds the Individual
To the Society a Mercy is :
His truest Self in the Community
Alone achieves fulfilment...
When in the Congregation he is lost
Tis like a drop which, seeking to expand,
Becomes an ocean...The joy of growth
Swells in his heart from the Community,
That watches and controls his every deed;
To them he owes his body and his soul,
Alike his outward and his hidden parts...
The Individual
Alone, is heedless of high purposes;
His strength is apt to dissipate itself;
The People only make him intimate
With discipline, teach him to be as soft
And tractable as is the gentle breeze,
Set him in earth like a well-rooted oak,
Close-fetter him, to make him truly free.
(translation by Arberry. A. J., *The Mysteries of Selflessness*, pp. 5-6).
Houben, J. J., "The Individual in Democracy and Iqbal's Conception of 'Khudi'," pp. 152-159.
[294] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 151.
[295] Houben, J.J., ''The Individual in Democracy and Iqbal's

Conception of 'Khudi'," pp. 152-159.

[296] Husain, Z. quoted by Sinha, S., *Iqbal: The Poet and His Message*, Allahabad, 1947, p. 449.

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ERRATA

p. 5. *corpse-betters* to be corrected to *corpse-bathers* in footnote I, line 6 p. I1, *theories* to be corrected to *theories* in line 24

p. 13. *under-standing* to be corrected to *understanding* in line 17 p. 17. *Thought* to be corrected to *Thoughts* in footnote 4

p. 18, *"Renounce it"* to be corrected to " *'Renounce it' "* in line 14 p. 23. *more* to be corrected to *mere* in line 9

p. 27. integument to be corrected to *judgment* in line 4

p. 31. Comma after *"out"* in line 20 and after *"brings"* in line 26 to be omitted

p. 32. *arise* to be corrected to *a rise* in line 12

p. 34. *and* to be inserted between *psychology* and *philosophy in lines* 11 and 12

p. 35. *nots* to be corrected to *not* in line 18

p. 39. *annimates* to be corrected to *animates* in line 10

p. 41. in to be corrected to *of* in line 4

p. 44. *a* (last word in the line) to be corrected to *as in* line *16* p. 48. *in* in footnote 4 to be replaced by a comma

p. 56. *be come* to be corrected to *become* in line 12

p. 57. *Pilgrim* to be corrected to *Pilgrim* in footnote 3

p. 62. As (last word in the line) to be corrected to *an* in line 14 p. 68. *numbling* to be corrected to *mumbling* in footnote 3, line 3 p, 69. *high* to be corrected to *highs* in footnote 1, line 3

p. 77. To be corrected to !in footnote 1, line 7

p 101. *it* to be inserted between *that* and *is* in line 18

p. 111. *thoughtt* to be corrected to ***thought*** in line 11

p. 112. "," to be corrected to ")" in line 7

Rumuz-e-Bekhdudi to be corrected to *Rumuz-e-Bekhudi* in tine 9

p. 113. *Oestilicher* to be corrected to *Oestlicher* in line 19
p. 115. *poetr* to be corrected to *poetry* in line 20
p. 122. *constructon* to be corrected to ***construction** in line 4*
the last *the* to be corrected to *that* in line II
p. 125. *side to* be corrected to *side* in line 14 ; single inverted commas after *humanism* and before *working* to be eliminated in line 14
p. 126. *politicai* to be corrected to *political* in line 5
p. 136. *moles to* be corrected to *Moses* in line 15
p. 137. ***creative*** to be corrected to *creative in* footnote 2, line 3
P. 145. *eveything to* be corrected to *everything* in line 19 *nation* to be corrected to *nations* in footnote 1, line 1
p. 149. *constantly—moving* to be corrected to *constantly-moving* in line 9
p. 150. *socio—political* to be corrected to *socio-political* in line *26 ; pllglm* to be corrected to *pilgrim* in footnote 3
p 155. *wisom* to be corrected to *wisdom in* footnote 4, line 3 p. 161. *Tough* to be corrected to *Though* in footnote 2, line 2 p. 170. *Allah* to be corrected to *Al/aloe* in line 15
p. 192. *exprssed* to be corrected to *expressed* in line *5 ; Javiduame* to be corrected to *Javidnama* in footnote 1, line 1
p. 203. 1" to be corrected to "1 in line 4
p. 204. double inverted commas to be corrected to single inverted commas in line 15 ; single inverted commas to be inserted before double inverted commas in line 16
p- 213. *and* to be corrected to *and* in line 10 ; single inverted commas to be inserted after the last *servant* in footnote 1, line 11 p. 220. *has* to be corrected to *his* in line 16
p. 223. "the definite idea that the travelling self in undertaking the journey" to be inserted after *is* in line 10 ; *transcendertal* to be corrected to *transcendental* in line 10
p 224. *revealation* to be corrected to *revelation* in line 20
p. 227. *worship* to be corrected to *worshippers* in line 1 ; to be corrected to in line 8

p. 232. *principle* to be corrected to *principle* in line 23

p. 247. —to be corrected to in line 28; *Reflection to* be corrected to *Reflections* in footnote 1

p. 249. *tyranry* to be corrected to *tyranny in* line 1

p. 256. ,' to be corrected to " in line 20

p. 257. *calculations* to be corrected to *calculations* in line 13

p. 267. *Vahiduddin* to be corrected to *Vahiduddin* in line 31

p. 268. —before *authorship* to be inserted after *authorship* in line 5